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ABSTRACT A review of the historical components of American Indian education (including missions, institutional histories, and tribal histories) was followed by an effort to identify in the literature specific problem areas accounting for the apparent failure of formal education systems imposed on Indians. Specific causal relationships for this failure were investigated: (1) the measurement of the intelligence of Indians; (2) the impact of teachers and parents on the educational environment; (3) the effects of cultural deprivation; (4) cultural and language barriers; (5) the school environment; and (6) the Indian's self-concept. The study was completed by a review of information on the Indian college student. An extensive bibliography is included. (JM)

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THE EDUCATION OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS

A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

by

Brewton Berry

Research Foundation
The Ohio State University
1314 Kinnear Road
Columbus, Ohio 43212

December, 1968

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I. INTRODUCTION

The American Indian, more than any other race, has always aroused the curiosity and piqued the imagination of the rest of mankind. Centuries ago Europeans eagerly awaited the reports and tales of missionaries and explorers from the New World; and, when Indians were taken abroad, by force or bribery, as they often were, they were met everywhere by enthusiastic and curious crowds.

Indians, far out of proportion to their numbers, have enjoyed the attention of people who write books and of those who read them. The New York Public Library requires 23 drawers in its card catalog for its holdings on American Indians, while 16 drawers suffice for the Jews and 7 for Negroes, and certainly neither of these latter groups has been overlooked by writers. The Library of Congress devotes 18 drawers to Indians, 17 to Jews, and 7 to Negroes.

The greater part of this massive literature, however, deals with the Indians as they used to be. Interest has focussed on their origin and antiquity, their arts and crafts, their history and archaeology, their wars and migrations, and their diverse and colorful cultures. The Indian as he is today has proved far less popular with writers and with the public. Poverty and disease, vice and despair, discrimination and exploitation, which are the dominant themes in the current picture, seem to attract a very limited audience. Occasionally, to be sure, one reads of the deplorable conditions on the reservations--substandard housing, poor sanitation, unemployment, and high infant mortality; and when a blizzard or some other crisis strikes, the Indian makes the headlines. But most of the time he is ignored and forgotten, or used simply as an attraction to tourists.

This report is concerned with the educational status of the Indian, and is, for the most part, a record of disappointment and frustration. Millions of dollars have been spent, and continue to be spent each year, on Indian education; the results are disappointing. It is easy to criticize the motives and the competence of those who have been engaged in this effort, and much of this criticism is well founded. At the same time there have been many able and dedicated teachers and administrators, as is amply manifested in the numerous personal documents which are available (cf., e.g., 83, 119, 215, 568). It is also possible to defend the thesis that progress has been made against insuperable obstacles. Even so, there is widespread agreement that the Indian has not profited satisfactorily from this vast expenditure of money and effort.

Who is an Indian? This is the first and most fundamental question in any discussion of the American Indian, and is a surprisingly difficult one to answer. None of the nations in this hemisphere has ever adopted an official definition, and in the United States the criteria vary from one situation to another (39:153; 55:6; 81:11; 318:3). In order to qualify for certain benefits one may have to prove that he has one-fourth or more "Indian blood," whereas in other circumstances individuals with as little as 1/256 Indian ancestry have been legally accepted as Indians. Officially classified as Indians are many persons whose ancestry is largely that of other races, while, at the same time, there are many whose degree of Indian blood is considerable, but who are going, by preference or otherwise, as either whites or Negroes.

It is no less difficult to determine the population of particular tribes. Wahrhaftig (649:55f.) has described the situation with the Cherokees. The rolls were closed in 1907, and all whose names were then inscribed, and their direct descendants, constitute the tribe, even though biologically and culturally many are identified with whites. There were, however, some who for various reasons were never enrolled, and regardless of their ancestry, their racial features, and their way of life, remain outside the legal tribe. To complicate matters even further, the Cherokees, who held Negro slaves prior to the Civil War, incorporated into the tribal rolls their ex-slaves and their descendants. Thus, says Wahrhaftig, there are four distinct, and widely different categories of people who might properly be considered Cherokees. It is the same with the Navahos, where Johnston (318:9ff.) encountered much difficulty in determining the size of the tribe, and concluded that there were really three populations, which he designated "de jure;" "administrative," and "core." Small wonder, then, that the various federal agencies come up with different estimates of the Indian population. The Bureau of Indian Affairs enumerates some 300,000 and includes those from whom the Bureau assumes a degree of responsibility. The Bureau of the Census, however, counted more than 500,000 in 1960.

As a matter of fact, the Bureau of the Census has changed its definition from time to time. In 1910 a special effort was made to enumerate all persons having any perceptible amount of Indian ancestry. The probability is that many were classified as Indians who, in other years, had been classified as white. No special effort was exerted in 1920, with the result that a decline in the Indian population was reported. In 1960 a policy which might be described as "self-identification" was adopted, and the Indian population registered a phenomenal growth. The fact is that well over half a million people in the United States think of themselves as Indians and, presumably, want to be regarded as Indians.

This report follows the Bureau of the Census, rather than the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in its definition of Indian, and is not restricted, therefore, to those who live on reservations, or whose names are inscribed on tribal rolls, or who enjoy the special services of federal agencies. Considered, also, in this survey are the 28,637 Eskimos and Aleuts of Alaska.

This project was designed to survey the literature on the education of the Indians of the United States. This body of literature proved to be far more extensive than anyone had anticipated. Some 1,500 items were located and examined--books, articles in professional and popular journals, theses and dissertations. Much of this writing is polemic, apologetic, speculative, and prescriptive. Most of it was discarded, after a cursory reading, as having little or no permanent value, and there remained a bibliography of 708 items, which forms the basis of this report. Inclusion in the bibliography is not to be interpreted as a stamp of approval. The quality of the items varies considerably. Included are expressions of opinion, personal documents, impressions, observations, and policy statements. Much of it represents research of a high order, but much was poorly designed and ineptly executed. However, even in a thesis where the design and methodology are questionable, there often reside a few grains of truth, an interesting fact or statistic, a descriptive paragraph or two, or reports of interviews with now-departed pioneers. Any of these would prove useful to future researchers, and are therefore included. There is apparently an inexhaustible amount of mimeographed material pertaining to Indian education. There are committee reports, term papers, presentations at professional meetings, speeches, working papers, and seminar and workshop reports and proceedings. Some of these are valuable, and, hopefully, will be published eventually. With a few exceptions, however, these materials have been omitted from the bibliography, for it was found that they are too inaccessible and unavailable, and the search for them is usually futile and seldom worth the time and effort required for their location.

It appears that most of the research on Indian education has been done by graduate students as part of their degree requirements. Even most of the books and journal articles, it was discovered, began as graduate theses. Some of these were done in departments of anthropology, a few in sociology and psychology, but most in the field of education. And, in most instances, the authors have had first-hand experience with Indian pupils in the classroom. This fact adds a measure of value even to a thesis of lesser merit. On the supposition that a major portion of the research on Indian education will continue to be done by graduate students, this report is addressed especially to that audience.

The school is the focus of this survey, and the time limitations imposed necessitated the omission of certain educational programs of importance. Informal education has not been included, nor have the numerous adult education projects, nor the increasingly effective impact of television and other mass media. No attention has been given to the educational functions of various federal agencies, such as the Office of Economic Opportunity (cf., e.g., 313), significant though they may prove to be. Omission of these in the survey is not to minimize their importance.

The United States, of course, is not the only country which has an aboriginal population upon which a system of formal education has been imposed. Accordingly, the problems encountered here find their counterpart elsewhere. Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, for example, have had to face problems similar to those of our own educators who work among Indians. There is an extensive literature on aboriginal education in those countries, and doubtless others, and a survey of that literature would perhaps be quite rewarding. This survey, however, has not undertaken that task, though many of the items have been consulted, and we have included in the bibliography a few especially pertinent studies from Canada (274, 275, 336, 576, 692, 702, 703), Garrard's research on Mexico (207), and Cooper's on the Otavalo (125).

The American Indian, moreover, is one of the several minority groups in our population, and while it possesses certain unique characteristics which distinguish it from other minorities, it nevertheless shares many of the same disabilities. In recent years a great deal of attention has been given to the educational problems of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans, and an extensive literature has been developed dealing with these and other so-called "culturally deprived" groups. Although most of this literature is relevant to the education of American Indians, its sheer volume would preclude its being included in this survey. For that matter, one who is concerned with Indian education would find much material of great significance in a number of fields--sociological studies of race relations, psychological research on the self-concept and alienation, anthropological investigations of acculturation and cultural change, and the concerns of the science of linguistics, to mention only a few. Despite the relevance of all these materials, however, it was not feasible to include them in this survey or even in the bibliography.

The literature on American Indian education covers a wide range of topics, as a cursory glance at the bibliography will prove, and extends over a considerable period of time. Much of this material is of an historical nature. A great deal of it is devoted to a definition of the problem, and it establishes the fact, beyond doubt, that Indians do not perform as well as whites in school. Their achievement scores are low, absenteeism and retardation are distressing, and dropout rates are high. There has been much speculation, and a modicum of solid research, on the causes of this poor academic record. The causes mentioned in the literature are legion, and for purposes of discussion they are classified under eight categories in this report. It remains to be determined what is the relative weight of these various factors, and whether or not some of them might be only symptoms rather than causes. Finally, the literature indicates that the greatest need today is for effective, tested methods for attacking the causes and solving the problems.

II. THE HISTORIES OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

The discovery of America came at a time when the missionary zeal of the Christian Church was at a high ebb. The prospect of converting millions of heathen in the New World posed a challenge, not only to the churches, but to rulers and laymen as well. Colonists and explorers, therefore, wherever they went, were accompanied by missionaries--Franciscans and Jesuits at first, but later by representatives of the various Protestant sects. Their purpose, of course, was to make Christians of the heathen; but it soon became evident that conversion and baptism were not enough, and that a certain amount of secular knowledge was also essential. Christianizing and civilizing, therefore, became their goal, and, before the close of the 16th century, schools and even universities had been established throughout those parts of America which had come under Spanish domination.

Our concern, however, is with that portion of the New World within the borders of the present United States. Even here the history of Indian education goes back 400 years. It is not known whether missionaries accompanied Ponce de Leon on his visits to Florida, but they did come with de Narvaez when he took possession of the coast around Pensacola Bay in 1528. That expedition included four Franciscans who had come for the purpose of planting missions. Their hopes were shattered, but in the following years they did succeed, and missions were established all along the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts. If a specific date is to be chosen for the beginnings of the white man's efforts to bestow, or impose, upon the Indians of the present United States the benefits of his formal education system it would be the year 1568, when the Jesuits established in Havana a school for the instruction of the Florida Indians.

Education, to be sure, is not an invention of the white man, nor is it his sole possession. Every human society devises means for socializing the young and transmitting its culture. No ethnographic report fails to describe the manner in which children are inducted into the community (cf., e.g., 86, 108, 115, 148, 168, 296, 323, 364, 365, 384, 614), and the various life histories of American Indians reveal the highly effective methods whereby the individual in preliterate society is socialized (148, 196, 350, 506, 572). Driver (158:456-475) gives a good summary of the informal educational practices of North American Indians, and a more complete and detailed account is furnished by Pettitt(490).

Among the Indians of the United States, however, formal education began with the coming of the white man, and has continued to the present time, with conspicuous lack of success.

The history of this 400-year experiment in education greatly needs to be written. In the first place, such a work would fill a gap in our knowledge of the history of education in the United States. The Indian is neglected, in such works as we have, even more so than he is in our social and political histories. Moreover, it would have a practical and immediate value in providing modern educators with guide lines and models. In the course of these 400 years all the problems which confound us today have appeared again and again, and most of the panaceas have been applied. The earliest missionary-teachers were confronted with the problems of adapting their systems to new circumstances, of trying to understand the psychology of the Indian, of choosing proper goals, of determining curricula, of surmounting the language barrier, and of overcoming parental apathy and hostility. No doubt their experiences, if we examined them, would furnish us with valuable clues.

The published literature on the history of Indian education is very sparse. There is only one slight volume (6) and, while it offers the most comprehensive history in print, it makes no pretense at being a history of Indian education. Instead, the author refers to it as only a "skeletal outline," and is primarily concerned with showing how the various programs of the white man, including education, have failed to meet the Indians' needs. There are, also, several brief accounts. Schmeckebier, in his history of the BIA (556), includes much on the Bureau's educational activities, and the greater part of Blauch's monograph (64) is of historical interest. Hagan (233) has produced an important book on Indian-white relations, and the educational efforts of the whites are mentioned throughout. Fey and McNickle (182) have a chapter in their book, and Hildegard Thompson (610) has written an excellent brief sketch.

The unpublished material on the history of Indian education is far more voluminous. Innumerable graduate students have obviously been attracted to this aspect of the problem, and the number of theses and dissertations is legion. As a matter of fact, anyone who undertakes the important task of writing a history of Indian education will find that a great deal of the spade work has already been done. These theses, including a few which have been published, tend to fall into the following five categories:

1. General histories

By far the best and most comprehensive general history is that by Layman (361). It is a thorough piece of work, covering the period from 1542 to 1942. If it were brought up to date and subjected to the surgery requisite to the transformation of a dissertation into a book, it would be worthy of publication. Morris (440) has written a briefer, but also good, general history. Among others, of lesser quality, are those by Hunt (299), King (337), Lundquist (381), McLaury (417), and Porter (497).

Others in this category are more specialized. Allegrezza (11) is the author of a reasonably good general history, but he minimizes the role of the Catholic missionaries, and gives special emphasis to Minnesota, and to the transfer of responsibility from the federal government to the state. Likewise, Morley (439) focuses on the Wisconsin situation. Others have directed their attention to historical periods, Wolfson (694) on the period 1871 to 1930, McMullen (419) on the period from 1870 to 1938, and Ammon (13) on the situation in the early 1930s. Finally, Epperson (171) has given special emphasis to the development of the boarding school, and Smith (581) concentrates on the higher education of Indians in the Colonial Period.

2. Missions

Perhaps no phase of Indian education has received more attention in the literature than that of the efforts of the missionaries. Nor is that surprising, for throughout the first three centuries of Indian-white contact the major responsibility for education fell upon the churches.

First came the Jesuits and Franciscans. These two orders not only worked in different parts of the United States, but their educational philosophies and approaches were quite different.

A few Jesuits were in Florida in the 1500s, and for a time they worked in the Southwest, but their principal activities in the present United States covered the period from 1611 to the end of the 1700s. They were mostly of French extraction, they entered the continent by way of the St. Lawrence River, and their activities centered around the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi and its tributaries. Among their missions were those to the Abnaki in Maine, the Huron in Michigan and Ohio, the Iroquois in New York, the Ottawa in Wisconsin and Michigan, the Illinois, and the Louisiana tribes.

In addition to converting them to Christianity, Frenchification of the Indians was the Jesuits' goal. Louis XIV, who gave them considerable financial support, repeatedly gave orders that all possible efforts should be made to "educate the children of the Indians in the French manner." Layman (351:25ff.) maintains that it was their policy to remove the children from their families and tribes, to stress French language and customs, and to emphasize the traditional academic subjects. Gibson (212), while agreeing that the Jesuits' goal was to "Galicize and sedentarize" them, insists that the curriculum included reading, writing, singing, agriculture, carpentry, and handicrafts.

The literature on the missionary activities of the Jesuits is, of course, abundant, but only a limited portion of it treats their contributions to the education of the Indian. A general treatment of their educational work is furnished by Layman (361), while Gibson (212) concentrates upon their early activities in New France. Jacobsen (309) does the same for their work in New Spain, chiefly Mexico, while Dunne (164) touches upon their efforts in the United States, and Stander (598) has written of their work in the Colony of New York.

The Franciscans, on the other hand, were mainly of Spanish origin, and they entered the country from the south. Five of them accompanied Coronado, and three remained behind when his expedition returned. Their principal work was in the Southwest, including what is now Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and California. Fr. Englehardt's monumental work (170) is the most comprehensive account, but a good, readable description of life in the missions is to be found in Webb (666).

Layman (361) contrasts their approach to the education of the Indian with that of the Jesuits. It was their policy to gather their Indians into native villages surrounding the mission, thus keeping families intact, and to instruct them in the arts and crafts which they could use in making a living. They taught them how to clear the land, build irrigation ditches, plough, harvest the crops, and thresh the wheat and barley. Instruction included carpentry, blacksmithing, masonry, spinning and weaving, and the making of clothing, soap, and candles. Academic subjects were of lesser importance, and there was no conscious effort to make Europeans of them. The educational activities of the Franciscans among Indians of the United States has received some attention from thesis writers. Barth (34) presents a wealth of facts, but an ethnocentric viewpoint, Van Well (641) includes some relevant material, North (455) and McHugh (415) describe the work in California, and McCarrell (405) treats some of the early Franciscan schools.

Some religious orders in addition to the Jesuits and Franciscans were engaged in educational work with Indians, and both of these orders often called upon the various sisterhoods for assistance. Frietsch (202) has studied the work of the Sisters of Saint Francis among the Montana Crow, and McDonald (411) has written on the contributions of the Dominican Sisters to the education of Indians in New Mexico. Among other studies of the educational activities of Catholic missionaries might be mentioned Zens (699) on South Dakota, Cardinal (101) on work with the Ottawa and Menominee, Bollig (69) and Bordenkircher (72) on the Kansas missions, and White (680) on the efforts of the Jesuits to establish schools in Montana.

Protestants were also bent upon Christianizing and civilizing the Indians, and the Virginia colonists began thinking along those lines as soon as they had won a secure foothold. King James I, on March 24, 1617, called upon the Anglican clergy to collect money "for the erecting of some churches and schools for ye education of ye children of these Barbarians in Virginia." The following year the Virginia Company directed the governor of the colony to choose a convenient place for the building of "a College for the children of the Infidels," and 10,000 acres of land were set aside for that purpose. The House of Burgesses decreed that a certain number of Indian boys should be educated "in true religion and civile course of life." A considerable sum of money was raised in the colony and in England for the erection of a college, but a revolt of the Indians in 1622 brought a change of attitude, and it was not until 1691 that the College of William and Mary was finally chartered. Many Indian students were brought there in the succeeding years. In 1723 a house was built on the campus for Indian students, and this handsome structure, known as Brafferton Building, still stands. Robinson (529) is the best source for the Virginia story, but it is also treated by Layman (361) and Allegrezza (11).

In most of the colonies there was no great enthusiasm for the education of the Indians,but it was otherwise in Massachusetts. While the charter of the Bay Company declared that the main object of the company was the conversion of the natives, nothing was done until the time of John Eliot. He was born in England and came to America in 1631. Always interested in education, the year after his arrival he established a school in Roxbury, where he was the minister. Five years later, when a few captives from the Pequot War were brought to Roxbury, Eliot began to study their language and customs. Winning their confidence, he began to instruct them in habits of industry and thrift. He developed the plan of bringing the Indians together in self-governing towns, where they could be taught, along with their letters and Christian ethics, the various arts and crafts. Nor did he neglect Latin and Greek for those he hoped would become teachers and missionaries. After 30 years of this effort, Eliot had succeeded in establishing 14 towns of "praying Indians," as they were called, with a total population of 497. Much has been written on the life and work of John Eliot, and a good, readable biography, including a complete bibliography, has recently been published by Winslow (688).

Eliot's work with Indians was carried forward by the Rev. John Sergeant, who established at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, a day school, a boarding school, and an experimental "outing system," whereby Indian pupils were placed in Puritan homes during the vacation periods. General Pratt, founder of the Carlisle School, is often credited with the inauguration of the "outing system," but the practice was much older than he. Another of Eliot's successors was the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, who founded a training school for Indians at his home in Lebanon, Connecticut. His philosophy involved the removal of the Indians from their natural environment, surrounding them with the influences of the Puritan home, and teaching them the rudiments of secular and religious knowledge and "husbandry." Later he moved his school to Hanover, New Hampshire, where it was named Moor's Charity School, and later became Dartmouth College.

The literature on the missionary work of the various Protestant churches is extensive, but rarely has it been analyzed and evaluated from an educational viewpoint. Gordon (218) and Baptist (31) have studied the schools established among the various Oklahoma tribes, Buck (90) has looked into the work of the Presbyterians among the Pueblos, Bowlby (74) has sketched the careers of some of the missionary educators in the Oregon country, and the contributions of the Quakers has been studied by Dunlap (162), Mendenhall (425), and Farrell (178).

Evaluation, apparently a major concern of modern educators, has always engaged the minds of some people. Long ago William Byrd wrote:

> Many of the children of our neighboring Indians have been brought up in the College of William and Mary. They have been taught to read and write, and have been carefully instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion until they came to be men. Yet after they return'd home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately Relapt into Infidelity and Barbarism themselves.

Similar expressions of disillusionment are found throughout the literature on Indian education. Layman (361:26) refers to the "almost complete failure of the Jesuits to attain their educational purpose," and White (680), after studying six mission schools in Montana, says, "The tangible results of this missionary activity among the Indians were not particularly noteworthy." More recently there have been two serious efforts to evaluate the missionary enterprise among the Indians. Berkhofer (51) has sought to analyze the consequences of missionary endeavor from an historical and anthropological standpoint rather than from the value position of the missionary, and Harrod (245) has compared the Catholic and Protestant approaches to the Blackfeet, and contrasted the impact which each had upon the Indians' culture and personality.

3. Institutional histories

The colonists, never doubting that formal education offered the best means for civilizing the Indian, set about creating schools for them. The charter of Harvard College stated the purpose of the institution to be the "education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge," and Dartmouth's charter declared its purpose to be "the education and instruction of youth of Indian tribes of this land in reading, writing, and all parts of learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing and Christianizing children of pagans, as in all liberal arts and sciences, and also of English youth and any others." William and Mary and Princeton also professed a concern for Indian education.

There are other institutions, however, which are more closely identified with the education of Indians, some of which have caught the historian's attention. The number of them is very great, and Adams (6) mentions many of them by name. Moor's Charity School has been referred to above, and two volumes by McCallum (403, 404) tell its story. Following the Revolutionary War, and down to the time of the Civil War, hundreds of schools and academies for Indians were established. Adams (6:35-40) makes a threefold classification of these: (1) the manual labor school, located in the Indian community, teaching "letters, labor and mechanic arts, and morals and Christianity"; (2) the mission school, patterned after the day schools of the whites; and (3) the tribal school, wholly or largely under tribal supervision, and maintained usually by tribal funds. These various institutions are mentioned repeatedly in the literature, but few of them have been subjected to thorough study. An exception is the famous Choctaw Academy which flourished from 1825 until 1842. This institution was conceived and supported by the Indians themselves, located far from their own country near the present Georgetown, Kentucky, hopefully to provide their children with training in the ways of the white man. Fox (198) has written a good account of this school, and Layman (361) devotes a chapter to it, giving a somewhat less generous evaluation of it than does Fox. The story is also told in a series of articles by Foreman (197).

While Indian education for the most part was a responsibility of the churches, financed and controlled by them, and staffed by missionaries and their spouses, the secular governments were not entirely indifferent. As early as 1775 the Continental Congress appropriated $500 for the education of Indians at Dartmouth, and this was increased to $5,000 five years later. In 1794 a treaty was made with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians--the first Indian treaty in which education was mentioned--which provided that teachers would be hired to "instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of the miller and the sawer." The second treaty mentioning education was concluded in 1803 with the Kaskaskia, whereby the United States agreed to contribute $100 annually for seven years toward the support of a priest who would "instruct as many of their children as possible in the rudiments of literature." Then, in 1819, under President Monroe, the sum of $10,000 was appropriated by Congress, thus inaugurating a period of modest governmental support for Indian education. These funds were distributed to the various mission groups, enabling them to expand their educational programs.

The Civil War marks a turning point in the history of Indian education. During the war relations between the races deteriorated, but immediately following there arose a great concern for the welfare of the Indians, and the federal government began to assume a larger role in their education. Mardock (397), in an interesting dissertation, explores the rise of this humanitarian movement and its involvement with Indians. A committee of the Congress published a report in 1868 revealing the deplorable status of the Indian, and the humanitarians began immediately to call for reform. To be sure, they grossly misunderstood the Indian problem, and their program called for education, Christianization, and civilization. At any rate, the two major consequences of this reform movement were (1) increased responsibility for education by the federal government, and (2) the off-reservation boarding school.

In 1870 Congress appropriated $100,000 for the operation of federal industrial schools; in 1879 the first off-reservation boarding school was established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; in 1882 legislation was passed to convert army forts into Indian schools; in 1890 appropriations were made to cover costs of tuition for Indians attending public schools; and in 1917 all subsidies to religious groups were ended.

The off-reservation boarding school, exemplified at Carlisle, dominated the approach to Indian education for 50 years. Its philosophy included the removal of the students from their homes, strict military discipline, a work and study program, an "outing system," and emphasis upon industrial arts. The history of Carlisle has been written by Brunhouse (87) and Fitz (189), and Meyer (428) has traced the development of technical education there. The colorful founder of the school, General R. H. Pratt, is the subject of a splendid biography by Eastman (167), and more recently Pratt's autobiography has been published by the Yale University Press (501). A devastating criticism of the boarding school was made by Meriam (427).

Several other Indian schools have been the subjects of historical studies. Two theses have dealt with the history of Haskell--Granzer (223) and Goddard (214). The Indian school at Albuquerque has been historically treated by McKinney (416), and received some attention in Shamberger's (567) educational history of that city. The history of the school at Chemawa, Oregon, one of the oldest non-reservation institutions, has been done by Lemmon (368); and the development of the Kashena Boarding School, on the Menominee Reservation near Green Bay, Wisconsin, has been traced by Spring (596). Four Indian schools in South Dakota have been treated historically--the one at Flandreau by Kizer (338), St. Mary's school at Springfield by Powell (499), the Pipestone school by Reynolds (519), and St. Paul's school at Marty by Suttmiller (603). Vassar (642) has written about the non-reservation boarding school at Fort Bidwell, California, which flourished for 32 years; and Hall (234) has given an account of the Bloomfield school, the first missionary school for Chickasaw girls, founded in Oklahoma in 1852.

4. Tribal histories

Quite a few students have turned their attention to the writing of educational histories of various tribal groups. Most illuminating is that of the Five Civilized Tribes, and especially the Cherokee. It is a mistake to think that formal education is entirely a device which the white man has sought to impose upon the Indian. As early as 1791 the Senecas were begging General Washington for teachers so that their men might be taught to farm and build houses, their women to spin and weave, and their children to read and write. The Cherokees quickly perceived that knowledge and education were useful, and they set about to build their own school system, controlled by themselves and supported with tribal funds. The several biographies of Sequoya reveal the crucial role which that remarkable man played in the process. By 1852 the Cherokees had a flourishing school system of 21 schools, 2 academies, and an enrollment of 1,100. The Choctaws were only a little behind the Cherokees, and these were soon followed by Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. It is interesting to speculate how different the situation might be today had the Indians retained control of their school system, rather than having it fall into the hands of a paternalistic government.

Among those who have written histories of Cherokee education are Thornton (619), Ervin (173), and Henshaw (266). Relevant, also, is the study of the tribal newspaper, The Phoenix, and its role in promoting education (40), a subject also dealt with by Holland (279). By far the best history of Cherokee education is a doctoral dissertation by Knepler, two portions of which have been published (342 and 343). As for the other members of the Five Civilized Tribes, we have Kiker's thesis (335) on the Seminoles;those of Dugan (160), Flowers (192), and Drain (1 56) on the Creeks; and Davis (143) on the Chickasaws. Drain (157) has written a history of education among the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and Swinney (604) has one on the Choctaws, both dealing with the Oklahoma bands. The Mississippi band of Choctaws has been studied by

Langford (356), who spent some time as a teacher among them. Layman (361) has an excellent chapter on the schools of the Five Civilized Tribes in the period prior to 1870. Other Oklahoma tribes have received some little attention--Moore (437) on the Kiowa and Comanche, Gorton (219) on the Osage, and Sanders (552) on the Cheyenne and Arapaho.

Two groups of Chippewas are described in the literature. Mittleholtz (435) made a study of those on the Grand Portage Reservation in the easternmost tip of Minnesota, and included a history of the region and of the educational activities from the earliest times down to 1953. Murray (445) has done the same for the Chippewas on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota, tracing the history of education from the arrival of the first missionaries in the 1830s, and including mission, federal, and public schools. Spring (596) performed a somewhat similar job with the Menominees in Wisconsin.

North Carolina is the home of a numerous people, some 30,000, of uncertain background and identity. Formerly they were known as Croatans, but today they prefer to call themselves Lumbee Indians. They have never lived on a reservation, nor have they enjoyed the services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Their educational history, accordingly, is unique, and differs markedly from that of other tribes. Oxendine (471), a member of the community, has described his group's struggle for education and civil rights, and a thesis by Morgan (438) also touches upon the school history.

Among other tribal histories is that of Hagan (232), who has traced the educational history of the Pima and Papago from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 20th century. More modest efforts are those of Manry (394), who deals with the remnant of the Alabama living in Texas, McClellan's report (407) on the Utes, and Byrd's (95) on the Sac and Fox of Iowa, which focuses on the problem of assimilation but which treats the changes in the school system and policies.

Finally, the Navahos. When these nomadic people were finally quelled, a treaty was negotiated, in 1868, which stipulated:

> The United States agrees that for every thirty children . . . who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished. . . ."

However, there followed many years of failures and neglect, with the result that during World War II the Selective Service System classified 88 per cent of Navaho males aged 18 to 35 as illiterate. This fact dramatized the seriousness of the situation for both the authorities and the Indians themselves, and since then significant corrective measures have been taken.

An excellent study of the history of Navaho education (691) traces the story from the earliest efforts of the missionaries down to 1940. Dale (141) has studied the history of the government's role from 1868 to 1948, Myers (446) has made an historical analysis, and Adair (5) has produced an overly optimistic report on the day-school program of the 1930s. A chapter in a book by Kelly (329: 171-181) is brief but good, and Johnston (318:47-60) gives an excellent summary sketch, based upon Woerner but carrying the record up to date.

Several students have chosen to study the educational history on certain reservations. Three studies of Montana reservations are available. Johnson (316) has covered the period from 1885 to 1935 at Ft. Peck, Hopkins (283) has done a similar job for the Tongue River Reservation, and Berven (58) has produced a good study of the Flathead Reservation, tracing the educational history from the Jesuit beginnings in the 1840s, through the period of government schools, and down to the present public school era. A thesis by Vrettos (647), while primarily descriptive and polemical, does contain much historical data on the Shoshone in Wyoming; and LeBow (362) deals with the transition from federal to state control of schools on the Rosebud Reservation. The Ft. Berthold Reservation in North Dakota has been studied by Beitzel (43), who covers the period from 1874, when the first schools were built, to 1940; and Fischer (185), reporting on the effects of the construction of Garrison Dam, discusses, among other things, the educational history of the same reservation.

5. Regional histories

Several students of the educational history of the Indians have seen fit to adopt a regional, or geographical approach, tracing the development in some state, county, or territory. One of the best examples in this category is Wall's history (652) of Indian education in Nevada. Payne's account (480) of Oregon and Washington is also rather good. The Oregon story is further developed by Walker (650), who devotes his attention to the period preceding statehood; and the historical record of Washington is expanded by Crook (135), who concentrates upon the period 1930-1941, when the state began assuming responsibility for the education of its Indians. The Washington record is also further explored by Pester (485), who has done a thorough job of gathering important data from a wide variety of original sources. It appears that Washington and Nevada are the two states for which we have rather satisfactory histories of Indian education.

Alaska, too, has profited from a good deal of scholarly attention. There are three good histories of education in Alaska (261, 359, 495) and in each of them considerable attention is given to schools for the native population. In addition there are several less ambitious studies of an historical nature (98, 284, 432, 461, 547, 653).

For the other 47 states the literature on the history of Indian education is very spotty. For Texas we have three studies--one concerned with the early period only (50), one with Nueces County and the Karankawa Indians (624), and one ending with the Civil War (430). Wilcox (683) has written about early Indian schools along the Missouri River, Morley (439) touches upon Wisconsin, Leland (367) and Allegrezza (11) treat briefly on Minnesota, and Porter (498) gives some attention to California. No small amount of research has been done on the history of Indian education in Oklahoma. Reference has been made previously to the numerous studies of the tribes which have been relocated there, especially the Five Civilized Tribes. In addition we have the more limited studies of Wild (684), Snider (586),Roach (526), Oxley (472), and Balyeat (30).

It is apparent from this survey of the literature that a great deal of research has been done on the history of Indian education in the United States, some of it representing scholarship of high quality. It is obvious, too, that the gaps in this knowledge are numerous and wide, and it is to be hoped that competent graduate students will be encouraged to search them out and fill them in. Great also is the need for someone qualified by sound scholarship and historical competence to organize and interpret the mass of data now available.

III. THE PROBLEM

One theme runs throughout the literature on Indian education; namely, the realization that formal education has fallen far short of its goal. Certainly the Jesuits, whose contributions to exploration and politics are well known, failed to reach their objective of "Frenchification and Christianization." The Franciscans, while apparently successful for a time, discovered as soon as they departed from the Southwest that their Indian converts were unprepared either to keep their mission communities going or to resume their traditional way of life. John Eliot's autonomous Indian villages came to a sad end, Eleazar Wheelock's experiments failed, the efforts of the Virginia colonists were disappointing, and the various Protestant missionaries could seldom point to any solid educational achievements. Summarizing the period 1778-1871, when missionary teachers and federal subsidies provided the Indians with their schooling, Layman says:

> The net results of almost a hundred years of effort and the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars for Indian education were a small number of poorly attended mission schools, a suspicious and disillusioned Indian population, and a few hundred products of missionary education, who, for the most part, had either returned to the blanket or were living as misfits among the Indian or white population. (351:312f.)

These dismal appraisals have continued to the present. In the 1920s the Meriam report (427) found the shortcomings in Indian education numerous and serious, and a more recent survey (81:138) concludes: "The majority of Indian pupils today are either above the general age level for their respective classes or are below academic norms, and they drop out of school more frequently than do their non-Indian classmates.

Occasionally one finds in the literature a more favorable judgment. Peterson (489) maintained that progress was made. Dale (140:26) addressed himself to the question, "Has the Pine Ridge educational program achieved the purposes for which it was planned?" and gave a definitely affirmative answer. Hopkins (283) writes approvingly of the federal and mission schools on the Tongue River Reservation in Montana. But in most of these, and other similar instances, one suspects either methodological inadequacies or superficial observation. Almost invariably, in reading the literature on Indian education, one is impressed by a well-nigh universal dissatisfaction with the results.

Before inquiring into the causes of these failures, it is necessary to define the problem. And, before defining the problem, it is necessary to consider one basic assumption upon which virtually all educational effort among Indians has rested.

Those who have been involved in the formal education of Indians have assumed that the main purpose of the school is assimilation. The Indian would be better off, it was believed, if he could be induced, or forced, to adopt the white man's habits, skills, knowledge, language, values, religion, attitudes, and customs--or at least some of them. Assimilation, to be sure, is a reciprocal process, and in the course of it the white man has learned much from the Indian, so that today American culture is immeasurably enriched by items adopted from the Indian. But it was always the white man's way of life which must set the pattern. Formal education has been regarded as the most effective means for bringing about assimilation.

While those engaged in education have always been committed to assimilation, this was not originally the policy of our political and military leaders. Extermination appealed to them as a wiser course. The early Puritans made a practice of giving rewards for Indian heads. The Dutch in New Amsterdam refined that practice and began paying bounties for Indian scalps in 1641, and the other colonies followed suit. In 1717 a prominent figure in the colony of South Carolina said: "We must assist them in cutting one another's throats. . . . This is the game we intend to play if possible . . . for if we cannot destroy one nation of Indians by another, our country will be lost." Somewhat later the more humane policy of driving the Indians across the Mississippi River was adopted.

Fritz (203) maintains that it was in the middle of the 19th century, when settlers began to penetrate those regions into which the Indians had been driven, that it became apparent to those in government that a new policy would be necessary, and that assimilation seemed the only feasible one. As conflict with the western tribes increased, pressure from both the military and the humanitarians forced the Congress in 1867 to pass a bill creating a commission to make peace with the Indians. The members of the commission agreed that assimilation was inevitable;

but, immediately within the commission, two schools of thought regarding assimilation began to form. One point of view was represented by General William T. Sherman, who insisted that assimilation would have to come at the point of the bayonet. Indians would not work unless forced to do so, he maintained, and it was the military who were prepared to apply the force. Nathaniel G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, represented the humanitarian point of view, and insisted that Christian teachers should be sent among them to prepare them for life in Anglo-Saxon society.

These two approaches--coercion and persuasion--have always represented the two extremes of assimilation policy. The literature, especially the autobiographical records (e.g., 506, 572), abounds in descriptions of the pressures employed to get children into the schools, to discourage the use of their native languages, to impose upon them white values and habits, and to turn them against their Indian ways. Colson (115:10-21) describes the educational goals and the coercive measures employed for 70 years among the Makah in the effort to "civilize the Indians and to obliterate all cultural differences between Indians and whites." The evidence suggests that such coercive means, revolting as they may seem to us today, were not entirely ineffective. Byrd (95), however, in his study of the Sac and Fox, contrasted the earlier coercive educational policy with the later cooperative policy, showing the greater effectiveness of the latter. Such reports as we have on the Rough Rock experiment (118, 205, 533) also indicate that cooperation, local autonomy and responsibility, rather than coercion and paternalism, are preferable. The American experience with the absorption of millions of European immigrants, upon whom no deliberate and conscious assimilative pressures were exerted, would support this view.

Moreover, there are degrees of assimilation. The process is complete, we may say, when "reciprocal identification" occurs; that is, when one no longer thinks of himself, or is thought of by others, as German, Indian, Italian, Canadian, Navaho, etc., or even as a hyphenated American. No doubt thousands of persons of Indian ancestry have become thus completely absorbed into white society. Some, to be sure, have been absorbed into the Mexican community and some the Negro. At the same time there are many persons having small "quanta" of Indian "blood," who could readily cease being Indian if they chose to do so, but who prefer to retain their identity as Indians. Often they hold to their Indian identity because of pride, or because they believe there are values in the Indian tradition which are preferable to those of the whites. But, in some instances, retention of Indian identity rests upon more practical considerations. In some parts of the United States it is more desirable to have the status of Indian than that of other non-whites (55); and many, who would choose to be regarded as white if that alternative were open to them, proclaim their Indian identity as the lesser of two evils. Elsewhere there are certain material advantages for which Indians are eligible. Lloyd (374) describes the Chumash of Southern California, who have long since lost their Indian language and culture, and who have been virtually absorbed into the Mexican community, but who cling to their Indian identity because of very modest financial benefits which accrue from their reservation lands. The situation is similar with the Makah, as described by Colson (115), who are almost completely absorbed into white society, but who cling to Indian status because of certain privileges to be gained thereby.

Educators, accordingly, while they invariably have been committed to the assimilation of the Indian, have disagreed (1) as to how much coercion should be applied, and (2) as to what degree of assimilation they should seek. For instance, in 1863 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs declared that his policy was "designed to civilize and reclaim the Indians within our borders, and induce them to adopt the customs of civilization"; and one of his successors in office, in 1903, expressed the hope that the Indian might "be educated to work, live and act as a reputable, moral citizen, and thus become a self-supporting, useful member of society. . . . To educate the Indian is to prepare him for the abolishment of tribal relations, to take his land in severalty, and in the sweat of his brow and by the toil of his hands to carve out, as his white brother has done, a home for himself and his family." Such sentiments are echoed repeatedly in the annual reports of the Commissioners, and also in the pronouncements of educators, well into the 20th century. The Meriam report (427) declared that "the whole Indian problem is essentially an educational one," and regards as necessary "the training of all Indians for the best type of American citizenship, looking to their absorption into the general citizenship of the Nation."

In the 1930s there arose a somewhat different point of view, opposed to the deliberate destruction of Indian culture, less committed to the complete assimilation of the Indian, and more sympathetic to the Indian's retention of his identity and such portions of his tradition as he chose to perpetuate. This philosophy was prominent in the writings of the late John Collier, and is rather widely voiced in the literature (cf., e.g., 23:105, 110; 146; 382). In the report of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian (81:3) the proper policy is described as "making the Indian a self-respecting and useful American citizen . . . restoring his pride of origin and faith in himself . . . and arousing his desire to share in the advantages of modern civilization."

Indians themselves have gone on record as desiring assimilation up to a point, without loss of their identity, and they look to the schools to accomplish this objective. At the American Indian Chicago Conference in 1961, the 460 representatives of 90 tribal groups issued their Declaration of Indian Purpose (146), in which they stated, "It would be well if all our children would avail themselves of academic training," and they proceeded to stipulate such goals as adequate counseling and guidance opportunities, vocational training, better housing and medical facilities, employment, revolving loan funds, industrial development of the reservations, etc. Similar aspirations have been expressed by prominent leaders of the Indian community (e.g., 322, 672). Even at Rough Rock Demonstration School, where the least possible pressure is exerted in imposing a foreign culture upon the Indians, we are told: "We want to instill in our youngsters a sense of pride in being Indian. We want to show them that they can be Indian and American at the same time, that they can take the best from each way of life and combine it into something viable" (118).

The assumption, therefore, underlying the introduction of the school has always been, and remains, the assimilation of the Indian. This may involve, on the one hand, "Frenchification and Christianization," and "the obliteration of all cultural differences," or, on the other hand, a lesser degree of assimilation implied in the goal of "making the Indian a self-respecting and useful American citizen." Nowhere is it assumed that the purpose of formal education is to make a good Indian, a good Navaho, or a good Hopi, for long before schools were introduced the Indians already possessed effective means for doing that. Moreover, it would be presumptious on the part of the white man to suppose that he is capable of doing that. In all the literature on Indian education, therefore, the objective is assimilation, implied or explicit, partial or complete.

The problem, then, is this: Are the schools achieving their goal? And if they are not, what are the reasons for their failure?

One finds in the literature a prevailing feeling that the goal is not being achieved. The socio-economic status of the Indian today is itself convincing testimony to that fact. But in the literature on education the evidence offered is of several types, which we shall now examine.

1. Achievement tests

The Meriam report (427:380), published in 1928, made the following criticism: "In the Indian schools not even the most elementary use has as yet been made of either intelligence testing or objective tests of achievement in the types of knowledge and skills that are usually referred to as the 'regular school subjects'."

Never has a critical remark been taken more seriously, for, in the 40 years since the publication of that report, no aspect of Indian education has received more attention from researchers than has achievement testing. Scarcely was the ink dry on the Meriam report before Anderson was administering a variety of intelligence and achievement tests to the Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut children of Alaska, and he reached the distressing conclusion: "More striking evidence of failure to accomplish the work of the curriculum in the time outlined could scarcely be presented" (14:361).

Others, also, in the 1930s were giving tests to Indian children. Austin (24) tested Pima students in 1932 and found that in achievement they were "inferior on all counts" to white students, though they did prove to be slightly superior to other Indians in the Southwest. Smith (582) at the same time was giving tests at the Indian schools in Santa Fe and Albuquerque; Zimmerman (704) studied the grades of 525 Indians in mathematics; and shortly thereafter Holdsworth (278:79) administered tests for reading achievement to 104 Navaho students in the ninth and tenth grades and concluded: "On the average the group ability in reading is approximately that of the first half of the fourth grade." Hansen (238, 239) studied some 1,000 Indian pupils in public and boarding schools, and compared them with some 500 white pupils. While it was apparent that some Indians did exceedingly well, the majority of them proved definitely inferior in all subjects except writing. Thus, in the decade of the 1930s, there began to be assembled a body of data all pointing to the poor academic achievement of Indian children.

In the 1940's the Bureau of Indian Affairs, having made dramatic changes in its educational program following the Meriam report, decided to invite an outside agency to determine whether the pupils in its schools were learning the essential subject matter of the curriculum. Accordingly, a contract was signed with the University of Chicago in 1943, and between 1944 and 1946 selected tests were given to pupils in the fourth, eighth, and twelfth grades in federal Indian schools and to pupils in the same grades in many mission and public schools. The results of the study were summarized in a monograph by Shailer Peterson (489), the first full-scale evaluation of the school work of Indian children. Continuing the testing program, a contract was signed with the University of Kansas in 1950, which resulted in the publication of a monograph by Anderson and associates (16). The third study, and the most comprehensive of the series, was made five years later, and is summarized in a monograph by Madison Coombs and associates (123).

The Coombs study involved administering California Achievement Tests to 23,608 pupils attending federal, mission, and public schools, in 11 states bounded by Montana, North Dakota, Arizona, and Oklahoma, plus Mississippi. Indian pupils made up 58 per cent of this number, and whites 42 per cent. Of the Indian pupils 8,564 (62.6%) were enrolled in federal schools, 3,144 (23%) in public schools, and 1,978 (14.5%) in mission schools.

Briefly, this study offered further evidence of the fact that Indian pupils do not achieve as well in the basic skill subjects as white pupils, and the following hierarchy appeared:

1. White pupils in public schools,
2. Indian pupils in public schools,
3. Indian pupils in federal schools, and
4. Indian pupils in mission schools.

Achievement testing has continued to the present time to hold a fascination for researchers in Indian education, giving further proof of an undisputed fact, and supporting what former BIA Commissioner Philleo Nash has properly called "a familiar, and by now dreary, statistic" (23:11).

All kinds of comparisons have been made: Indians with whites, full-bloods with mixed, boys with girls, tribe with tribe, one type of school with another, English-speaking with non-English-speaking, Indians with state, local, and national norms, achievement in one subject matter with another, and acculturated vs. non-acculturated.

Innumerable small-scale studies have been made, chiefly in the form of theses and dissertations, and they tend to support the principal findings of the Peterson, Anderson, and Coombs surveys. Penoi (483) administered the California Achievement Tests in three federal boarding schools in Oklahoma, and found that two-thirds of the pupils placed below their grade levels. Felber (181) reported on the poor academic achievement of Indian pupils in the public schools of Sisseton, South Dakota, using school records and personal interviews, and attributed the failure to their impoverished home environment. Deissler (147), using the Iowa Tests of Educational Development, studied Indian students in South Dakota public schools, and found that they scored below state norms on all tests; and Wax (660:25) notes regarding the Pine Ridge Sioux, "The results of a recent program of testing were dismaying."

Thus, it seems, regardless of the instruments or criteria used, the Indian students show poor academic achievement. Townsend (627) gave a variety of reading tests to Indian pupils in the eleventh and twelfth grades of New Mexico high schools, and concluded, "Indian students generally achieve at least five years below grade level." Dotson (154) administered selected tests to Apache children, and found them "well below national norms"; and Parmee (476), also studying the Apaches, reported that "the rate of academic progress for Apaches at least beyond the fourth grade level was significantly below that for non-Indians." Lloyd (373) gave the California tests of Mental Maturity and the California Achievement Tests to pupils in the Mesa, Arizona, public schools, and concluded that the Indian "has not attained the same intellectual and academic heights, as measured by standardized tests, as those attained by non-Indians." Rist (524), on the basis of a number of criteria, wrote: "Data . . . clearly show that Shoshone student achievement in the basic skills of education are considerably lower than the non-Indian students in the same schools"; and Safar (548), using scores obtained from the California Achievement Tests on all pupils in grades four through eight, in seven school systems in Wyoming, concluded: "The group of Indian pupils included in this study has not attained the same ability and achievement levels . . . as those attained by non-Indians."

Finally, Rupiper (544) gave the California Achievement Tests to 5,502 Indians and 9,336 whites in elementary, intermediate, and advanced grades in the BIA administrative areas of Phoenix, Albuquerque, Aberdeen, Billings, Muskogee, and Anadarko, and reported that "significant differences were found in favor of white children."

The Coombs study included only 11 states, as noted above, but achievement tests have been administered to Indians in several other states, and always with similar results. Those in Utah have been tested by Witherspoon (689, 690), Shults (569), Winn (687), and Atkinson (22); those in California by Barcus (32) and Lund (380); the Nez Perce of Idaho by Uhlman (633), Snider (583), and Lindsay (372); the Chippewas by Branchard (77), Dorn (153), Wood (695), Graham (222), and Harkins (241); and the Winnebago, Omaha, and Sioux migrants to Sioux City, Iowa, have been studied by Crow (137). In all these the Indians do poorly.

However, there are exceptions. In all studies of achievement some Indians do exceedingly well. Lloyd (373), whose investigations were conducted in the public schools of Mesa, Arizona, found the Indians scoring lower than the whites, but added, "There are individual Indians who are doing as well as individual non-Indians at all levels of endeavor"; and Uhlman (633) says of the Nez Perce in the schools of Lapwai, Idaho, "On many of the tests in this study, individual Indians scored as high as the highest whites." Graham (222), who found Minnesota Chippewa children in the sixth and seventh grades slightly below county, state, and national norms, reports that those in the eighth grade show "a median grade achievement equal to county and state medians and one school month above national norms." Lee (363) administered the California Tests to 6 schools in the Dakotas, and, except for one all-white parochial school which selects its students, found "no significant difference" between those having predominantly Indian and predominantly white enrollments.

Who are the Indians who do best on achievement tests? One of the principal conclusions of the Anderson study (16:79) was: "As the cultural and educational background of Indian children become more like those of white children in the public schools, the more closely will the educational achievement of Indian children match that of white children." Certainly there is nothing surprising in this. Nevertheless, many other researchers have explored the relationship between academic achievement and certain indices of assimilation and have reached the same conclusion. Coombs (123:6) reports: "An amazingly consistent relationship between the degree of Indian blood and the pre-school language on the one hand and level of achievement on the other. . . . These two characteristics are the best indices of the degree of acculturation." Cowen (129) found this true of Indians on all eight reservations in the State of New York, and Snider (583) found it for the Nez Perce of Idaho. Jackson (308) reports a high correlation between academic success and the extent of English usage in the home for Alaskan natives, and Deissler (147) finds the same true for Indians in South Dakota. Atkinson (22) tested students at Union High School, Roosevelt, Utah, and found whites superior, mixed-bloods second, and full-bloods third--a fact frequently encountered in the literature. As many writers have pointed out (385:25; 660:29) such terms as full-blood and mixed-blood refer to social rather than biological groups. Also, the fact that the mixed-bloods and the assimilated do better on achievement tests than do the full-bloods and the less assimilated accounts for the superiority of public school Indians over those in the federal and mission schools. It is the more assimilated who are likely to enroll in public schools, while those who are isolated, rural, and traditional are more likely to attend the federal or mission schools.

Another aspect of scholastic achievement which has received considerable attention is the difference in scores for the various grade levels. It has long been believed by many whites that Indians, by their very nature, soon reach a learning plateau. There is some evidence that this is true, but the reasons are more complex than earlier educators suspected. Peterson (489) found that "the fourth grade group made consistently better scores in comparison to standardized norms and in comparison to public school non-Indians, than Indian pupils in the upper grades," and subsequent studies have tended to bear him out. Coombs (123) discovered that "Indian pupils compared much more favorably with white pupils in the elementary grades, and particularly in grade four, than in the junior and senior high school grades." Parmee (476) says of the Apaches, "The rate of academic progress at least beyond the fourth grade level was significantly below that for non-Indians"; Branchard (77) says of the Chippewas, "Starting with the fifth grade, the Indian pupils seem to be slower in scholastic ability"; and for the Hopi, Peters (488) reports, "Performance seems to reach its peak in Grades III and IV after which learning appears to be more difficult." Among others who have found a break in achievement between the fourth and fifth grades are Rist (524), Safar (548), Lloyd (373), Uhlman (633), and Dorn (153).

Other investigators would put the break, if there is one, at some other level. On the Pine Ridge Reservation Wax (660) found children in the lower elementary grades "attentive, busy, and happy," while those in the intermediate grades presented a sharp contrast and appeared to be "shy, withdrawn, stupid, and sullen." Graham (222), admittedly on the basis of a small sample of Indian children in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades of a Minnesota school, found the eighth graders equal to county and state norms, and above national norms, while the other two grades were below. Departing most radically from the conventional view is Bryde (89), who studied a total of 415 Indian and 223 white adolescents at Pine Ridge, and concluded, "On achievement variables the Indian students scored significantly higher than national test norms from the fourth through the eighth grade. At the eighth grade level, the Indian students were significantly below national test norms."

Not all investigators, it must be noted, have discerned a sharp break between the fourth and fifth grades, or between any other grades. Cowen (129) simply noted a "progressive decline in achievement" for the New York Iroquois as they moved through the school grades. Zintz (706:82), in his study of the New Mexico public schools, reports: "The Indian population became more educationally retarded as they progressed through the elementary school. Retardation was 7 months in the third grade, 11 months in the fourth grade, 14 months in the fifth grade, and 15 months in the sixth grade."

There is no denying the fact that academic performance for Indians declines as they move through the school, but the cause of this so-called "cross-over" phenomenon is difficult to determine. Some maintain that it is characteristic of adolescents, and not peculiar to Indians. Kayser (326) did a study of 207 students--Ute, Anglo, and Spanish-American--in a Colorado public school, and found that the three groups, while unequal in performance, followed roughly the same pattern. A few have maintained that superior performance for Indians in the early grades is a tribute to the skill of the teachers of those grades. Peters (488), seeking to account for the "cross-over" phenomenon among the Hopi, supposes it is a result of the acculturation process:

> The Hopi have become partly acculturated, especially in the most general aspects of American culture. The younger children are quick in learning these most obvious elements of the culture, in

school, movies, radio, and through occasional visits to the city. However, for the older child, the broad cultural experiences, with their varied nuances, are not available. Furthermore, the increasing Hopi cultural emphasis denies the child the same opportunities available to the children of the general population.

Still others suspect that the explanation lies in the language. Blossom (65) addresses herself to the problem: "There must be some underlying reason for the widespread belief that retardation starts at the fourth grade level." She suspects that the cause may lie in the fact that people "have two vocabularies, one composed of words used in speaking and a much larger hidden one called a recognition or comprehension vocabulary." Elementary texts, she explains, are written in a carefully controlled "talking vocabulary," while upper grade texts shift to a comprehension vocabulary. This shift affects especially the bilingual pupil, and Blossom hints that "There may be a relationship between this shift and retardation."

Perhaps the most plausible explanation of the cross-over phenomenon is psychological. Bryde (89), among others, maintains that alienation is the central concept for explaining that problem. Conflict between white and Indian cultures comes to a focus at adolescence and causes severe personality disturbances which block achievement. In view of the fact that Indian pupils tend to be over-age, it may well be that adolescence arrives during the intermediate elementary grades, bringing with it problems of identity, alienation, and negative self feelings, which manifest themselves in low achievement.

It also appears that on their achievement tests Indian pupils do relatively better in certain areas than in others. However, it is difficult to generalize or to draw definite conclusions, since the various studies have used different instruments and criteria. Peterson (489) noted "the relatively high achievement of Indian students in arithmetic," which surprised him, since arithmetical concepts and ideas were not emphasized in Indian culture, and he attributed such achievement to the educational program. Coombs (123), however, found that Indians compared very favorably with whites in arithmetic fundamentals, but very poorly in arithmetic reasoning. Lloyd (373), on the other hand, found that they scored rather low in both areas. Blanchard (77), too, reported the North Dakota Chippewas "noticeably below" others in the public schools in arithmetic reasoning. The Indian's superiority in spelling has been reported by Coombs (123), Safar (548), Lloyd (373), and Dorn (153). Uhlman (633) found the Nez Perce "measurably inferior on tests of linguistic and verbal skills," but reports that differences disappear on non-linguistic and performance type tests. Coombs (123) discovered the Indians did poorest of all on reading vocabulary, and similar findings are reported by Branchard (77), Rist (524), Uhlman (633), and Deissler (147). While the data are somewhat conflicting and inconclusive, it does appear that Indian pupils do best in those areas which are learned in the school situation and by the rote method, such as spelling and computational skill in arithmetic, and they do less well in those areas involving quantitative thinking, vocabulary, reading comprehension, language usage, etc. Their restricted background is obviously responsible for their shortcomings in these latter areas. Regrettably, they do poorly in those skills which are most important for scholastic success.

2. Follow-up studies

Achievement tests are far and away the most widely used criteria for determining the effectiveness of a school's program, but there are other possible criteria. Schools commonly point to the success of their graduates as evidence of the quality of the education they provide.

Among the first institutions of higher learning to provide education for sizeable numbers of Indians was Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, founded by General S. C. Armstrong for freedmen in 1868. Through the efforts of General R. H. Pratt Indian youths began to be sent to Hampton in 1878, and in the 12 years following a total of 460 received training there. The Institute used to keep records of their students when they returned to the reservations whence they had come. Those records indicated that the adjustments made were graded as follows: Excellent 98; Good 219; Fair 91; Poor 35; Bad 17 (351:372).

This survey of the more recent literature has uncovered very few systematic follow-up studies, although occasionally someone does manifest an awareness of the problem. New (450) describes the Institute of American Indian Arts, established at Santa Fe in 1962, and notes the large number of the first two graduating classes who have gone on for higher education. Bonner (71:20), writing in 1950 on the North Carolina Cherokees, reports that of the 130 graduates of the federal high school between 1939 and 1949, only one was unemployed, 43 were housewives, and the others had moved into occupations reflecting a fairly good adjustment to American society.

Most of the follow-up studies, however, are less encouraging. Adams (7) mailed a questionnaire to the 1952-1964 Indian graduates of Union High School, Roosevelt, Utah, and learned, among other things, that 74 per cent had received some formal education beyond high school, 26 per cent were working full time, and an equal number were housewives; barely 20 per cent were following the vocation for which they had prepared themselves in high school, and the majority of them felt that their high school education had been inadequate. Smith (580) mailed a questionnaire to the Mormon graduates of Intermountain Indian School, who had graduated between 1957 and 1961. He learned that approximately 50 per cent had returned to their reservations, 21 per cent had received further schooling, there was no unemployment among those who had settled off-reservation but the rate was 46.6 per cent for males who had returned, and the marital status of the graduates was far from exemplary.

Two follow-up studies are concerned with the effectiveness of the training received in home economics. McGinty (413) interviewed 35 young, married Papago homemakers who had recently completed home economics courses in high school, and discovered that they made slight use of the information they had received. Schroeder (559) studied the child rearing practices of two groups of Jemez mothers. One group had attended secondary school outside the pueblo, and the other had attended only elementary schools within the pueblo. While there were a few differences, the data indicated that the amount of formal education had no significant effect upon the manner in which they reared their children.

Among other follow-up studies are those of McCaskill (406), McClure (408), Lawson (360), Jewell (314), and Baker (29). The few follow-up studies which are available reflect little credit upon the effectiveness of the white man's formal education.

3. Urban migrants

Over the years many Indians have quietly left their reservations or their isolated, rural communities, and moved to the cities. This shift of population to the cities, of course, is characteristic of other peoples, too. The migration of Indians accelerated during and after World War II, when industry's demand for labor provided the inducements, and when military service broadened the horizons of young Indians. Also, under the government's relocation policy of the 1950s, large numbers were assisted in migrating to the industrial centers. As a result of these forces, then, there are today sizeable Indian communities in most of our major cities. It is estimated that there are 15,000 in Chicago, 6,000-8,000 in Minneapolis, and some 45,000 in the cities of California. About 5 per cent of all Navahos live in Los Angeles alone, and Baltimore has attracted at least 4,000 Lumbees from their rural homes in North Carolina.

Newcomers to the city encounter formidable problems of adjustment, and the obstacles are well-nigh insurmountable when the migrant comes from a rural background, has a limited knowledge of English, is poorly educated, lacks marketable skills, and holds to a value system which conflicts with that of the urban society. Small wonder, then, that many Indians choose to return to the poverty of their reservations, despite the higher income, conveniences, and attractions of the city.

A few, but not many, studies have been made of the urban Indian. Ablon (1, 2) has reported on the Indians in the San Francisco Bay area, Graves (224) on the Navahos in Denver, Hurt (301) on the Sioux in Yankton, and Kelly and Cramer (330) on those in Flagstaff and Winslow. The Indians in Rapid City have been studied by Lovrich (377), Carter (104), and White (681); West (675) has described his fellow Indians in Detroit; and Smith (579) and Cowan (127) have written about the Cherokees in Tulsa. Similar studies have been done by Martin (398), Hanson (240), Lewis (371), Hodge (276), Ritzenthaler (525), and the Indians of Minneapolis have been surveyed by the League of Women Voters (303). Research on the urbanization of the Indian has barely scratched the surface, and many cities where sizeable Indian communities are springing up have thus far been entirely overlooked. Professor William H. Hodge, of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, is currently compiling a bibliography of urban Indian materials.

Apparently some cities are more hospitable than others. Hurt (301) states that in Yankton the Indian faces considerable job discrimination and "is generally excluded from the social and political activities of the community." In Rapid City, too, there is considerable prejudice and discrimination manifested. On the other hand, Ablon (1) reports that "Indians in the Bay Area usually will be accepted wherever they choose to go," and West (675) finds in Detroit "an absence of any strong racial prejudice against him." Between these two extremes are the Makah. Colson (115:164ff.) states that most of them have traveled, and some have settled in Seattle and other cities and towns in Washington. "They are neither rigidly excluded nor completely accepted. . . . Many whites accept them on equal terms. Nevertheless, there seems to be a greater tendency for whites away from the reservation to regard the Makah in an unfavorable light." Kelly and Cramer (330), who studied Flagstaff and Winslow, Arizona, where there are colonies mostly of Navahos, but a few Hopi, Laguna, and others, believe that smaller cities such as these "are helpful intermediate steps in adjustment from rural to larger urban communities" and "are easier places for Indians to live in than larger urban areas." The social climate is more tolerant, they say, the reservations are not too far distant, and Indian-white contact has extended over a long period of time.

Some Indians succeed in making a satisfactory adjustment to city life. Colson (115) says of the Makah who migrate, "A few, but only a few, are able to secure a more assured position." Hurt (301) finds in Yankton some who come to "prefer the white man's culture" and grow "highly critical of Indians and Indian culture." Martin (398), who studied the Navahos, Choctaws, and Sioux in an unnamed "Southwest metropolitan area" placed his subjects in two categories, "High Adjustment" and "Low Adjustment." White (681) classified those in Rapid City as "Camp Indians," "Transition Indians," and "Middle Class." This last group is described as "having reached the goal of their ambitions . . . almost entirely committed to the city way of life . . . dislike of the reservation and all it stood for."

For most Indians who have moved to the city, however, the situation is far from pleasant. Assimilation is normally a long and painful process, and there is no reason to doubt that in time Indians who have moved to the cities will adjust and assimilate just as Irish, Polish, Italian, and countless others have done. In the meantime, the research available to us on the urban Indian pictures him as alienated, insecure, lonesome, poorly housed, disorganized, highly mobile, frequently arrested, and victimized by alcohol. Despite the fact that they are financially better off, "most relocatees . . . would return home to their reservations immediately if they could find employment there" (1:298).

None of the Indians reported in these urban studies is without schooling, but there appears to be no significant relationship between education and adjustment. If the schools had achieved any success at all in preparing Indians for effective citizenship, one would expect otherwise. Several of the writers maintain that military service and prolonged contact with non-Indians contribute to successful adjustment to the city, but none finds that years of schooling make a difference. Hanson (240) compared Indians who had remained in the city with those who had given up the struggle and returned to their reservations, and found no difference with respect to education. Martin (398) did find a "positive relationship between adjustment and years of schooling, but not by a comfortable margin." West (675) notes that for the Indians in Detroit "the factor that stands in his way most manifestly is his lack of education," and yet "most of the older, and some of the younger Indians are products of the Indian schools," where, West feels, they not only failed to learn the skills necessary for participation in American society, but were subjected to a type of training which continues to impose handicaps upon them.

4. Other evidence of the school's failure

Further evidence that the schools have failed to meet the Indian's needs, or to help him find his place in American society, is to be seen in the school itself, where the figures on under-enrollment, absenteeism, tardiness, retardation, overageness, and dropouts are distressingly large.

Our data on Indian students are based upon those who are enrolled in schools, but the fact is that many do not enroll at all; nor has any great effort been made to determine how numerous they are. The Navahos, in their 1868 treaty with the United States, agreed to compel their children between six and sixteen to attend school, and we agreed, in turn, to provide a school and a teacher for every 30 children who could be "induced or compelled to attend." However, the Navahos were apathetic, and the government showed no interest in education. It was not until 1919 that Congress inquired into the matter and came up with some startling statistics. Of an estimated 9,613 children of school age, only 2,089 were actually attending school (329:172). Accordingly, the Secretary of the Interior was instructed in 1920 "to make and enforce such rules and regulations as may be necessary to secure the enrollment and regular attendance of eligible Indian children." Even so, says Johnston (318:49), "The enrolled population of Navaho children never exceeded half the school-age population until 1950." When the Meriam report was issued in 1928 it was stated (427:355) that "the figures still show that enrollment of Indian children is below that of the white population." This report also declared, "Modern educational systems put as their first task that of finding out precisely how many children there are and of what ages." This admonition of Meriam's, however, has apparently not been heeded, for 40 years later Kelly (331:35) is forced to deplore the fact that such data are not available, and says, "This deficiency must be corrected before valid studies of a more meaningful and penetrating kind can be commenced." In his own survey of the school-age children of southern Arizona he reports: "We commenced the task with what appeared to be a simple problem of collecting enrollment lists and searching out what we thought would be the relatively few school-age children unknown to school teachers. We found not just a few, but a whopping 340 in the 16 through 18 age category alone. . . . An estimated additional 894 in the 6 through 15 age group remain unknown and unaccounted for in our statistics." And Padfield (473), reporting on the Pima-Papago, says, "Seven per cent of the children 6 through 18 are not enrolled in any school." Concerning the Lumbees of North Carolina, Beckwith (41:48) says, "Of the 7170 Indians of school age, only 6037 were enrolled in schools during the year 1948-1949. Of the 6037 enrolled, only 71.1 per cent were in average daily attendance." And Ray (514) finds "only 34 per cent of Alaska's 5,368 youths of high school age is actually enrolled in secondary school." It would seem, therefore, that such data as we do have on the performance of Indian pupils, which are discouraging enough, do not properly reflect the actual situation.

Of those who are enrolled in the schools, overageness is a common problem. The Meriam report (427:356f.) noted that "of 16,257 Indian pupils studied . . . only 1043 were at the normal grade for their age . . . with only 264 pupils ahead of their normal grade." Eighteen years later Peterson (489:12) found some improvement, saying, "In 1928 only 6% of the students were in the grade in which one would expect them to be on the basis of age, whereas in 1946 this percentage was 36%." A decade later Coombs (123:6) reports, "Indian pupils are, on the average, older for their grade than white pupils." Overageness is noted by almost every investigator. Graham (222) and Dorn (153) report it for the Chippewas, Crow (137) for the Omaha and Winnebago, Atkinson (22) for the Utes, and Wax (660) for the Sioux. Padfield (473) says of the Pima-Papago, "Sixty-five per cent are behind grade," and Kelly (331) finds, "A substantial majority of Indian students are behind in grade as measured by age."

Superficially the reasons for this overageness are rather apparent. Few would quibble with Coombs, who stated, "It seems probable that the overageness of Indian pupils is accounted for not only by late school entrance, but also by the necessity for a beginning year for many of them in which basic social and conversational English skills are taught, and by the fact of irregular attendance." Kelly (331) puts it this way: "Many Indian mothers do not send their children to school until they are seven, and a high percentage of Indian children spend four years getting through the first three grades. Subsequent retention in grade produces a final situation where 86 per cent of 16-, 17-, and 18-year-old Indian students are behind in grade." But Kelly looks deeper into the problem and raises questions which call for further research. Says he, "No one knows why Indian families, in fairly large numbers, fail to send their children to school at the age of six, and no one knows why almost ten per cent of those in the first through third grades were retained in grade."

Far more serious than overageness is the shockingly high dropout rate. No report on Indian education fails to note its wide extent (cf., e.g., 22, 32, 41, 71, 293, 348, 367, 373, 429, 514, 664, 695). While the Coombs study did not address itself to the problem, we do find (123:7) the following item: "The present study does not lend itself well to an investigation of the 'holding power' of the school. Nevertheless, there are clear indications from the data that Indian pupils, the country over, are not staying in school to the completion of their high school education in as large proportions as do white children."

On page after page of the Mizen survey (436) the extent of the dropout problem is noted. On page 7, regarding the Devil's Lake Sioux, she says, "There is a high dropout rate in high school"; for the Wisconsin Potawatomi, "Few children finish the eighth grade" (p. 333); for the Chippewas on the Rocky Boy's Reservation, "The dropout rate has always been high" (p. 307); and for the Utes she reports, "a serious dropout rate for students after they enter high school" (p. 708). For many other groups the distressing report is similar (see pp. 54, 114, 155, 157, 165, 201, 210, 216, 223, 225, 228, 258, 280, 292, 313, 327, 335, 338, 344, 356, 362, 364, 380, 411, 414, 438, 469, 507, 513, 708). There are, to be sure, a few encouraging items in the Mizen survey. In a number of communities school attendance is described as "good," and occasionally "excellent," especially for the lower grades; and there are even a few instances where the dropout rate is not serious. For one band of Wisconsin Chippewas she reports (p. 341): "In the past year we have had one dropout"; and for another band in the same state, "Dropout problem is minimal" (p. 358). Regarding the Umatilla Reservation in Oregon Mizen says (p. 499): "The dropout rate is quite low"; and for the Florida Seminoles (p. 577), "There have been only five dropouts in the age bracket for 16 to 21 years in the past 5 years." Along the same line, Roper (537) states that the dropout rate for the Chippewas at the Union Consolidated School at Minoque, Wisconsin, dropped from 96 per cent in 1949 to 50 per cent in 1955.

Apparently there are a few communities where school attendance is not a problem and where Indian children do remain in school until graduation. These perhaps warrant closer study in the hope of learning the secret of their success. Nevertheless, the dropout rate for Indians is a national scandal. Bass and Burger (36:7) put the figure at 50 per cent, as compared with 29 per cent for the general population; Kelly (331) says, "The high school dropout rate is serious, with 22.3 per cent of all Indian students between the ages of 16 and 18 leaving school before graduation"; and for the State of California, the Commission on Indian Affairs reports "a dropout rate as high as 70 per cent" (96, 304). For Alaska, Ray (514) gives a rate "as high as 60 per cent."

Statistics on the extent of absenteeism and dropouts are readily available, but the causes are elusive and complex. There has been much speculation, however. Atkinson (22) maintains that many full-blood Utes "become involved with parental responsibilities at a very early age" and are forced to discontinue their schooling. Anduri (17) cites a number of reasons, including lack of interest in the subjects taught, poor health, marriage, necessity to earn money, academic failure, and the "feeling that teachers are not interested in them." Bonner (71), in her study of the Cherokees, attributed the high dropout rate to lack of interest in school, military service, marriage, ill health, and "needed at home." Miller and Caulkins (429) says, "As the student advances in school, he confronts increasingly foreign expectations from his teachers, and his education becomes more irrelevant to his everyday concerns." Roper (537), who has spent most of his life on or near a Chippewa reservation in Wisconsin, enumerates a variety of "causes," including family indifference, hostility of the non-Indian community, peer group influence, and the Indian student's failure to see that education has any relevance to the kinds of jobs he expects to follow. Roper is aware of the fact that the Indian's mores, attitudes, and values clash sharply with those of the white community which dominate the school. Kutsche (348) develops this theme in his study of the North Carolina Cherokees. The schools, he maintains, lay stress upon the American values of competition, upward mobility, and "future orientation," all of which conflict with the values to which the Cherokee youth has been exposed in his family and community. Accordingly, the Indian pupil comes to feel that he is "outside the dominant stream of culture," and "since the school system is geared toward full participation in white culture, why should he not drop out?" In his study of Alaskan native dropouts, Ray (514) reiterates most of the causes mentioned above. He found that the school personnel failed to realize the cultural differences of their pupils, that school facilities were inadequate, and that parents and pupils alike perceived little relation between school curriculum and their village way of life. Finally, Wax (664), in her study of the Pine Ridge Sioux, recognizes the complexity of the problem and offers as penetrating an analysis as we have. She writes: "Neither the dropout nor the process of dropping out are well understood. . . . Dropouts leave high school under strikingly different situations and for quite different reasons." Sioux boys, she says, are reared to be physically reckless, impetuous, proud, feisty, and desirous of being regarded as "hellions." These values give no serious difficulty as long as the boys attend the elementary day schools near their homes. But when they reach the ninth grade, and go away to boarding school, the obstacles become insurmountable. Not only do they have an inadequate command of English and the inability to adjust to strangers, but they are completely lacking in the traits most highly valued by the school authorities--regard for regulations, routine, discipline, diligence, and respect for "government property." Moreover, they find themselves in an alien, hostile, heterogeneous environment, where they are competing with more acculturated Indian youths. Small wonder that so many drop out, because they are lonely, or feel abused by their peers, or "don't fit in," or run afoul of school discipline, or become "bored." Rarely did Wax find, in her interviews with dropouts, that any left school because they were having trouble with their studies.

One concludes, from a survey of the literature, that the feeling is general, both on the part of educators and of the Indians themselves, that formal education is failing to meet the Indian's needs, that there is widespread dissatisfaction with its results, and that the schools are falling short of their goal of preparing the Indian to participate effectively in American society.

IV. THE CAUSES

The fact that a majority of Indians do not seem to profit from their school experience is widely recognized and is certainly well documented. But if the problem is ever to be resolved it is imperative that we determine the cause, or causes, of the failure so that an effective attack might be launched. Virtually everyone who has done research on Indian education, or has had experience as a teacher of Indian students, has a theory of his own. Some attribute the problem to a lack of motivation, or the apathy of parents, or the irrelevance of the curriculum, or the inadequacies of the teachers, or the Indian child's "shyness," or early marriage, or laziness, or chronic absenteeism, or proverty, or mental deficiency, or of stubborn resistance to the white man's culture, or various combinations of these and other factors. Wax (660) makes a cogent case for isolation. Says he:

> Isolation--lack of communication, social distance--is the cardinal factor in the problem of Indian education on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Because the isolation affects so many contexts--the community as a whole, the school within the community, the pupil within the classroom, and the teacher within the educational system--its effect is greatly intensified. The Sioux community is isolated from the mainstream of national life and isolated especially from the current where literacy and education are important and common.

Bryde (89), on the other hand, argues convincingly that "the concept of alienation appears to be central in explaining the behavior of the Indian students studied." Hobart (273) maintains that there are four reasons for under-achievement: (1) damaged self-concept, (2) inadequate motivation, (3) unawareness of employment opportunities, and (4) resistance by peers and community to self-advancement. At the All-Indian Conference on Education held recently in California, the under-achievement of Indian children was attributed to a multiplicity of causes, including the following (96:7, 26): (1) unqualified teachers, (2) poverty, (3) inadequate textbooks, (4) poor home environment, (5) anti-Indian prejudices of classmates, (6) unsympathetic administrators, and (7) lack of communication between races.

The list of causes one finds in the literature might be extended indefinitely but for clarity and convenience we shall organize and discuss them under the following eight categories:

A. THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE INDIAN

For those engaged in the education of the Indian the most fundamental question of all has to do with his inherent capacity to acquire the knowledge made available to him. There always have been, and still are, those who doubt that he has the necessary intelligence to profit from formal education. The psychology of the Indian has always baffled the white man. From the earliest days of contact there have been many who have held him in low esteem. In the literature of the Colonial Period the Indian has been described as "more brutish than the beasts they hunt," or "bad people, having little of humanitie but shape." At the same time there have been many who have held a contrary opinion. Columbus himself described them as "very intelligent . . . a loving people without covetousness . . . and fit for anything." The Cult of the Noble Red Man has had thousands of adherents, and there are still many who look upon him with romantic envy and admiration. And there are still many who take a dim view of the Indian's ability, character, and temperament.

Toward the end of the 19th century, when scientific methodology began to be applied to the study of human personality and behavior, psychologists set about to test and compare the various peoples, including Indians, with respect to visual sensitivity, reaction time, auditory acuity, etc. Then, shortly before the turn of the century, Alfred Binet developed his intelligence scales, and scholars felt that at last an instrument had been devised which would enable them to study objectively the relative ability of the various races.

First to apply intelligence testing to American Indians was E. C. Rowe (542), who, in 1914, administered the Binet-Simon Test to Indian and white children at Mt. Pleasant, Michigan. He concluded:

> The striking difference . . . cannot be explained by hygenic, social and educational differences. . . . It seems therefore that the only satisfactory explanation of their inferiority in terms of the test is to be found in the inferiority of native ability.

Since then countless thousands of Indians have been subjected to intelligence tests. One of the principal investigators was T. R. Garth, who, with his pupils, conducted many studies. No purpose would be served by reviewing here this vast literature, for summaries of the published research have been made by Garth (209), Holdsworth (278), Uhlman (633), and Havinghurst (252). Among the early unpublished studies, not included in these summaries, are those of Helmer (258), Somermier (587), Garrett (208), Riley (523), Hansen (239), Brown (82), Fraser (199), Gould (220), Kuipers (346), and Dutton (165).

The earlier tests invariably proved the Indian inferior. Moreover, it appeared that any infusion of white "blood," however small, improved the Indian's intelligence. Accordingly, many studies were made of the relative intelligence of whites, mixed-bloods, and full-bloods. Garth conducted several such investigations (209:75f.). In 1922 Hunter and Somermier (300) administered the Otis Intelligence Test to some 700 students at Haskell. The degree of blood ranged from one-fourth to full, and there were 7 subjects who were less than one-fourth white. They found a positive correlation between the degree of white blood and the test scores. Rice (521) made a similar study also at Haskell, and Cox (130) tested 2,585 pupils in 22 Oklahoma public schools, finding whites superior, mixed-bloods next, and full-bloods lowest. On the other hand, Jonasson (319), in 1937,gave a variety of tests to students at Whapeton Boarding School in North Dakota, and refuted the theory of the inferiority of the full-blood.

As a matter of fact, confidence in the validity of the intelligence tests began to wane prior to the 1930s. Jamieson and Sandiford (311), in 1928, discovered that the verbal tests commonly employed discriminated against Indians, while performance tests showed them appreciably better. In the same year Klineberg (339, 340) demonstrated the importance of cultural factors in test scores with white and Indian children on the Yakima Reservation. Some investigators even began pointing out that on certain kinds of intelligence tests the Indians actually proved themselves superior to the whites (33, 536, 607). And the Meriam report (427:352f.), with its usual uncanny insight, stated in 1928: "The record made by Indian children in the tests, while usually lower on the average than that of white children, has never been low enough to justify any concern as to whether they can be 'educated'."

And so, as early as 1928, many informed people suspected that low scores on intelligence tests, especially those of the verbal type, failed to prove the Indian uneducable or inherently inferior. Others, however, retained faith in the test scores. Haught (248), in 1934, administered a variety of tests to Indians in New Mexico and concluded, "Indians make lower scores than whites because they are lower in native ability." And Anderson and Eells (14:339), in 1936, after testing a large number of Alaskan natives, said: "The material assembled and interpreted . . . contains no proof that any of these races as a whole are superior by nature to the members of the white race. . . . There is no uniformly clear evidence even of equality. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence of inferiority." It should be noted, however, that Anderson and Eeels did suspect that perhaps the tests were not entirely fair, and they did report that "there are many Eskimo children who are distinctly superior in measured mental, musical, physical, and mechanical ability (even though handicapped perhaps by unfamiliar types of tests) to many white children."

Since 1940 no responsible scholar has maintained that Indians are intellectually inferior. Considerable testing was done in the early 1940s under the Indian Education Research Project, an endeavor undertaken jointly by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Indian was acquitted of any charge of inferiority. Concerning the Papago, for example, Joseph (323:190) wrote:

> In average mental ability as indicated by tests, the Papago groups studied reveal differences between one another, on one hand, and between themselves and white children, on the other hand, and specific differences seem to be tied up with specific tests. This casts some doubt on the wisdom of accepting the test results at face value and suggests certain hypothetical explanations, of which the influence of a different way of life appears to be of primary importance.

Regarding the Hopi, Thompson (614:101) wrote: "From our tests we have the impression that Hopi children on the average are very intelligent, highly observant, show a remarkably balanced mental approach and are apparently very capable of complex and abstract thinking." Similar conclusions were reached by Macgregor (384:184-187) on the Sioux, by Leighton and Kluckhohn (364:148-155) on the Navahos, and by Leighton and Adair (365:87-90) on the Zuni. Thus, the question of the "educability" of the Indian would seem to have been resolved. But the administering of intelligence tests to Indians has never ceased, and among the many later reports are the following: Barnes (33), Bernadoni (52), Dorn (153), Evans (174), Evvard (175), Jamison (312), Lloyd (373), Norman and Midkiff (454), Parmee (476), Safar (548), Snider (583), Winn (687), and doubtless many others. Havinghurst (252), writing in 1957, concisely summarizes these more recent studies as follows: "The conclusion which is drawn by most social scientists from the data on Indian cultures and Indian intelligence is that the American Indians of today have about the same innate equipment for learning as have the white children of America."

Unfortunately, however, many white people with whom Indians come into contact, including teachers, are not aware of what psychologists and social scientists have concluded regarding Indian intelligence. Or, if they are aware of it, they have refused to accept it. Consequently, there comes into operation what sociologists call "the self-fulfilling prophecy." The theory is that, if teachers and other members of the dominant group are convinced that the Indian is innately inferior and incapable of learning, such attitudes will be conveyed in various and subtle ways, a child will come to think of himself in that negative way and set for himself lower standards of effort, achievement, and ambition. Thus the teacher's expectation and prediction that her Indian pupils will do poorly in school, and in later life, become major factors in guaranteeing the accuracy of her prediction.

An interesting experiment by Rosenthal and Jacobson (539) lends support to the theory. They administered a new and unfamiliar intelligence test, which they called "A Test of Inflected Acquisition," to the pupils of an elementary school in San Francisco. Then, in a studied but casual manner, they conveyed to the teachers the misinformation that certain of their pupils proved to be "potential spurters." Actually they had selected, entirely at random, about 20 per cent of the children, about 5 in each classroom. At the end of the academic year additional tests were given, and "the results indicated strongly that children from whom teachers expected greater intellectual gains showed such gains." Moreover, the teachers were asked to describe the classroom behavior of their pupils, and the so-called "spurters" were described as happier, more curious, more interesting, better adjusted, affectionate, and having better prospects of success in later life. When asked to describe the behavior of the undesignated children, the teachers rated them less favorably, even those who had demonstrated much progress, and "the more they gained, the less favorably they were rated." The conclusion is that "the explanation lies in a subtler feature of the interaction of the teacher and her pupils. Her tone of voice, facial expression, touch and posture, may be the means by which--probably quite unwittingly--she communicates her expectations to her pupils." The implication is that programs of remedial reading, tutoring, cultural enrichment, etc.--all based upon the theory that the problem stems from the poverty of the disadvantaged child's environment--may prove inadequate. Rosenthal and Jacobson do not deprecate such programs, but they say, "At least some of the deficiencies--and therefore at least some of the remedies--might be in the schools, and particularly in the attitudes of teachers."

While this study was not concerned specifically with Indians, there are a few empirical studies which are. Tefft (606) sought to determine why the Arapaho, in contrast with their white and Shoshone fellow students, display a greater degree of anomy (i.e., alienation, demoralization, confusion, disillusionment, and powerlessness). He administered the Shrole Anomy Scale to 310 high school students living on or near the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming--229 white, 36 Arapaho, and 45 Shoshone. The Arapaho manifested a significantly greater degree of despair and disillusionment with their environment than did the white or Shoshone. Tefft maintains that the three groups are similar with respect to several characteristics which might, in theory, affect their social perceptions--their academic records were similar, there were no pronounced linguistic handicaps, their educational and occupational opportunities were equal, and the two Indian groups enjoy about the same level of contact with white students. There is, Tefft insists, one important difference, namely, the attitudes of the whites toward the Indians. The white students referred to the Shoshone teen-agers as "more like us," "progressive Indians," and "respectable and decent." The Arapaho, on the other hand, were said to be "lazy and immoral," "backward," and "more Indian." The white community generally, says Tefft, share with the teen-agers these stereotypes. Here, then, the perception psychologists would find support for their theory, and the sociologists see the operation of "the self-fulfilling prophecy."

Another study, along this same line, is one by Anderson and Safar (15). They note a national concern with providing equal educational opportunities for children of minority groups, and they note further that equal educational opportunity is commonly thought of as involving physical facilities, teacher-pupil ratios, desegregation, per pupil expenditures, etc. It is their contention, however, that "perceptions of a phenomenon or a condition play a more important role in determining the behavior of the perceiver." Accordingly, they studied two southwestern communities, composed of Anglos, Spanish-Americans, and Indians. They interviewed parents, teachers, school administrators, school board members, and members of the communities, in an attempt to explore their perceptions as to the abilities of the three ethnic groups and the adequacy of the school program. They conclude:

> There is an almost unanimous feeling that Spanish-American and Indian children are less capable of achieving desirable goals and ultimately becoming productive members of society than are their Anglo contemporaries. This lack of ability of the minority groups appears to be perceived by Anglo members of the communities studied as a lack of innate ability, rather than as the fault of an inadequate school program. . . . One of the most disturbing factors is that this feeling of inferiority appears to be internalized by the minority groups themselves.

Other studies of more limited scope point in the same direction. Jackson (308), who spent seven years teaching English to Alaskan natives, concluded that the pupils' academic achievement depended to a large degree upon the educational philosophy of the teachers. Similarly, Gwilliam (230) studied the social acceptance of a group of Navaho children who were attending public schools in Utah under the BIA Peripheral Dormitory Program. He explored the relationship between the attitudes of the teachers and the social climate of the classrooms, using a simple friendship choices questionnaire and the Bogardus Social Distance Scale for the pupils, and the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory for the teachers. He found that the social climate of the classroom of the dominative teacher was less favorable to the acceptance of the Indians, while the less dominative teacher created a social climate more favorable to, and more tolerant of, the minority group.

There is evidence in the literature that many teachers of Indian children share the antipathies reported by Anderson and Safar and others, and this matter will be explored in the following section. Also, many researchers have reported the existence of considerable anti-Indian prejudice and discrimination on the part of the white community, which will be touched upon later. And so, if the self-fulfilling prophecy is valid, as it appears to be, the poor academic achievement of Indian children becomes more a problem for the white man than for the Indian, and calls for a program designed to increase the knowledge and understanding of the Indian on the part of the non-Indian community.

B. TEACHERS

In the academic career of the Indian child the teacher plays a most important role. Not as important, perhaps, as parents and peers, but important nevertheless. It is surprising, therefore, that so little research has been directed to the teachers, especially when compared to the volume of research on other aspects of Indian education.

Teachers, to be sure, are mentioned and discussed throughout the literature, usually with emphasis upon their shortcomings and inadequacies. The Meriam report (427) found much to be desired. We are told: "After all is said that can be said about the skill and devotion of some employees, the fact remains that the government of the United States regularly takes into the instructional staff of its Indian schools teachers whose credentials would not be accepted in good public school systems." The report goes on to deplore the meager salaries, the high turnover, the low standards, the poor working conditions, and unsatisfactory personnel policies, and makes this devastating criticism, "The government is attempting to do a highly technical job with untrained, and to a certain extent even uneducated, people" (p. 359).

Similar criticisms of the teachers of Indian children a generation or more ago are found throughout the literature. For example, Spring (596:68-76), writing about the government boarding school for Menominee Indians in Wisconsin, which flourished from 1875 until 1933, says:

> Teachers in the Indian Service were often given employment as political rewards without consideration of their qualifications. . . . Well qualified teachers were not attracted by the bleak surroundings and meager salaries. . . . The principal, whose duty it was to plan and to lead, usually did neither. . . . During 1917 one principal remained at the school a month, his successor for four months, and the position was vacant for the rest of the year. The following year only one school employee was rated as desirable by the reservation superintendent. . . . . The rigors of institutional life and the low salaries made it difficult to attract even poorly trained teachers.

Criticisms such as these are rare in the more recent literature. To be sure, there is still much discussion of the turnover problem. Farmer (177), writing in 1964 of the situation in the Navaho schools, comments favorably on salaries, housing, working conditions, etc., but adds, "Despite this, turnover is high. Many teachers just cannot stand government schools." Crites (133), writing a decade earlier about the Navaho situation, insists that the turnover rate, while high, is lower than that for rural schools in New Mexico, and explores the reasons for the turnover, including isolation, family responsibilities, etc. Wolcott (692:80ff.) states that the inhabitants of the Kwakiutl village where he worked had come to regard the teacher as "a stranger who will reside only temporarily in the village, perhaps not even for the entire school year. . . . Villagers take for granted that the tenure of their assigned stranger will be brief. . . . Even the youngest pupil has already seen a procession of teachers come and go." Many others have commented upon the turnover, which apparently continues to be a serious problem, especially for the more isolated schools.

It would appear that many of the observations made in the Meriam report no longer obtain. Hebdon (255) studied the BIA high schools at Phoenix, Arizona, and Brigham City, Utah, and found that they compared very favorably with the public schools with respect to salaries, numerical adequacy of administrative and instructional staffs, competence of staff members, tenure, teacher satisfaction, personnel practices, student-teacher ratio, fringe benefits, and turnover. For the Navaho system Farmer (177) reports that the physical plants and equipment are very adequate, salaries are high, library facilities satisfactory, working conditions and personnel practices are good, and standards for new teachers are rigid, but "many loopholes exist for hiring sub-standard teachers," and the older teachers fail to meet the standards applied to those newly-appointed.

It is necessary to bear in mind that most Indian children nowadays attend public schools, and the trend is in that direction. Roessel (530:9-11) estimates that there are approximately 1,000 public schools enrolling Indian students, while the BIA operates only 277 schools, and the number of mission schools is between 150 and 200. He estimates, therefore, that some 10,000 teachers are presently teaching Indian children, most of them public school teachers, and he expects the number to reach 20,000 by 1975. The problems of Indian education, and the qualifications of teachers for that task, are increasingly to be found in the public schools.

In the more recent literature the problems of the teaching personnel to which attention is directed have shifted from those emphasized in the Meriam report and now seem to include the following concerns:

(1) Parochialism

One gains the impression, from a reading of the literature, that Indian children are taught by persons of rather limited background and narrow horizons. Perhaps not, but that is the impression conveyed. Nowadays, to be sure, they do possess their formal credentials. Beckwith (41) and Thompson (618) found much to be desired respecting the teaching staff of the schools attended by the Lumbees, a numerous people in North Carolina. Says Beckwith (pp. 44, 48):

> Of the 143 teachers in the Indian schools of Robeson County, 139 are Indians and four are white. One hundred thirty-four of the Indian teachers attended nearby Pembroke State College. Thus they have spent the greater part of their lives in Robeson County. Therefore, they have very little basis for comparing the work done in their schools with that of other schools. . . . Of the 143 teachers, 101 have bachelor's degrees, but only one teacher has a master's degree, this latter a white teacher of public school music.

Miller and Caulkins (429), reporting on the teachers at the Deer Lake Reservation in Minnesota, says, "Many of the teachers at the elementary level are middle-aged wives of men who have farms in the vicinity. They have lived in the area for a number of years, or in some cases all their lives, and are acquainted with the Indians' behavior and their 'shortcomings.' They are not idealistic and are not surprised at anything the Indians do." They find, however, that the high school teachers are young, some just out of college, and they come from small Minnesota towns some distance from Deer Lake. "They idealistically expect the same behavior, interest, and achievement of the Indian students as they would of white students. When their expectations are not fulfilled, they may become frustrated and confused." Wax (660:71ff.) finds the situation much the same with the Pine Ridge Sioux. "The teachers in the elementary grades are predominantly married women or widows, middle aged or older. Most of them are Whites raised in the communities of the Western Plains. . . . Many of the teachers, especially the womenfolk, are attracted by the economic security of the federal school system."

Adkins (8) sought to determine the social and educational background of BIA teachers in the Aberdeen Area. He mailed out 205 questionnaires, receiving 162 replies. He found, among other things, that most of them came of mixed American descent, had grown up in villages of less than 500 population, and their parents had been engaged in agriculture. The median age was 38.7, three-fourths of them were married, and 37 per cent were natives of the Dakotas. Seventy per cent held at least a bachelor's degree, 12.3 per cent held the master's degree, and 73 per cent had earned additional college credit since embarking upon the teaching career.

Competence, of course, is difficult to determine and impossible to measure. But one suspects, from a reading of the literature, that much of the teaching is uninspired. At the same time there are countless references to dedicated, tireless, skillful, imaginative teachers. Wax (660:75) says, "There are a few teachers who develop fine classrooms and teach their pupils a great deal. . . . In general, they differ from the less successful instructors in that they respect their pupils." Much of the literature on Indian education has been produced by persons who have had first-hand experience as teachers, and this "respect for Indians," which Wax speaks of, comes through in their writing. Thus the literature tends to reflect the viewpoints of those who are sensitive, concerned, and perceptive, while the frustrated and disillusioned have put the matter behind them and failed to make a record of their feelings.

(2) Prejudice

Much attention is given in the literature to the attitudes of the teachers, and it is apparent that many of them do not hold their Indian pupils in high regard. Just how many teachers are convinced that their Indian pupils are inherently inferior intellectually we cannot say, but doubtless the number is large. Rist (524) queried the teachers of Shoshone children, finding that 81.5 per cent held the Indians to be equal to the whites in intelligence, and 18.5 per cent regarded them as inferior. Several other investigators also have reported similar opinions prevailing among teachers. More common, however, are negative opinions regarding characteristics other than intelligence. Parmee (476) found many who believe Apaches to be"hostile," "mean," "lazy," and "dumb," but says, "It would have been difficult to estimate how many . . . shared these views." Many teachers indicated to Atkinson (22) that their Ute children were undependable, uncooperative, and inattentive. Regarding the Pomo, Kennedy (333:113) says, "No teacher has charged the Indians with lack of capacity, but rather with lack of interest and incentive for education." Goodman (216) reports that, of the public school teachers he interviewed, "some were sympathetic, but many regarded their Indian pupils as inferior and dirty," and preferred not having them in their classes. At Pine Ridge Wax (660:73) found that "very few of the Day School teachers actively dislike their pupils; quite a few seem fond of them; very few respect them. . . . The most common attitude is condescension, sometimes kindly, often well-meant, but always critical."

Prejudice is a feeling which covers a wide range of intensity, from bitter hatred on the one hand to mild condescension on the other. It is also a subtle feeling, and many who are convinced that they are without prejudice only deceive themselves. A slip of the tongue will reveal its presence, or more sensitive instruments will bring it to light. Slobodin (576:124ff.), writing of the educators working with the Canadian Metis, Eskimos, and Indians, insists that they are without prejudice. Says he, "The statements, the expressed attitudes, and what is more, the observed behaviour of northern educators fail to reveal prejudice in any direct or hostile form. One is led to the conclusion that, if there have been any teachers burdened with it, they have not remained long in the service." But Slobodin goes on to say that there is even "discrimination in reverse," and that native children are often given promotions and scholastic honors which they have not earned, much to the displeasure of the white students. This itself is a manifestation of prejudice. Later he admits having interviewed educators who maintained that the natives "had no culture," or who saw "indigenous culture as an impediment from whose vestiges the young people must be freed." Thus Slobodin seems to refute himself.

(3) Awareness

Some attention is given in the literature to the extent to which teachers are aware of the cultural differences which separate them from their Indian pupils. Certainly this is a major obstacle which needs to be overcome. Zintz (708:58ff.; 706:23ff.) has examined the social class background of teachers, and the value system to which they have become conditioned, and points to the difficulties they encounter when confronted with the very different background and values of the Indian. Many other writers have treated the problem of culture conflict in the classroom, and we shall examine this in a later section. The difficulties are great enough when the school espouses a set of values and habits which are foreign to the Indian child, but the problem is magnified when the teacher is oblivious to the fact that there are such differences. Parmee (476:27) discovered that "teachers showed a rather shocking unawareness," and Zintz (706:106) observes that, while teachers are aware of such obvious differences as language, dress, and customs, they "are not sensitive" to the more subtle and intangible differences of values, attitudes, and feelings. The most systematic study of this problem has been done by Ulibarri (634) who, by means of a questionnaire and an interview schedule, sought to determine the extent to which elementary public school teachers of Anglo, Spanish-American, and Indian children are aware of certain socio-cultural factors operating in the classroom. He learned that they were indeed aware of differences of language and general home environment, but they "showed a general lack of sensitivity" to motivational, psychological, and various other intangible differences.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that some of the antipathy and insensitivity might be mitigated if teachers developed closer contacts with the parents of their pupils and with the Indian community, but the literature abounds in references to the isolation of the teachers. Parmee (476:105) says: "Some of these views among public school people remained because few ever came on the reservation to see things for themselves. Of the few who did, some went back with their suspicions even more strongly confirmed than before--or so they said." Throughout his monograph, Wax (660) deplores the fact that a gulf exists between teachers and the Indian community. And Laura Thompson, in a popular article in Scientific Monthly, maintains that one of the fortunate byproducts of the Indian Personality and Administrative Research Project of the early 1940s, which employed local teachers as interviewers, was the breaking down of this isolation. She writes:

> When the field work started it was discovered that many of the teachers had never been in an Indian home. They had no idea of the living conditions, family backgrounds, and habits of the children they had been teaching for perhaps years. They had no contact with Indian community life and little understanding of Indian behavior, attitudes, and values.

What is being done? The literature reports a variety of efforts being made to overcome the obstacles of parochialism, prejudice, and unawareness on the part of teachers, although the information available on such efforts is sketchy. The programs fall into the following categories:

(1) Orientation

One gathers from a reading of the literature that in the BIA schools, at least, teachers are provided with a program of orientation, but one wonders about the nature and value of such programs. Farmer (177:12), who taught in the Navaho schools, describes the two-weeks orientation session, and maintains that "it is a very thorough orientation," and that "the teacher is no longer facing the unknown when he enters the classroom for the first time." Wax (660:76), however, takes a dim view of the program as it operates among the Sioux, saying, "The annual orientation program for Pine Ridge educators provided no help or guidance for dealing with any pedagogical problems." We have no information about orientation programs, if such exist, designed to assist public school teachers to understand better their Indian pupils.

(2) Teacher training

It is estimated that some 10,000 teachers have Indian pupils in their classes, but until recently no college of education offered special training for prospective teachers of Indians. A beginning has been made, but only a small beginning. Arizona State University has instituted 18 courses in the area of Indian education, along with seminars, workshops, and conferences, leading to the master's degree (116). Roessel states (530:10) that among other colleges and universities where similar programs have been inaugurated are the University of Arizona, Arizona State College at Flagstaff, the University of New Mexico, Brigham Young University, and Ft. Lewis College at Durango, Colorado. Renaud (517) describes also the program at the University of Saskatchewan. Recently there have been published several handbooks which would doubtless help the inexperienced teacher to become aware of, and better able to cope with, the kinds of problems arising from the presence of Indian children in the classroom. Among such handbooks are those of Zintz (708), Roessel (530), and Greenberg (227).

(3) In-service training

If there are, indeed, 10,000 teachers responsible today for the education of Indian children about whom they know so little, the situation would seem to call for a crash program of in-service training. This was one of the recommendations of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of American Indians (8:154):

> Teachers and counselors responsible for training Indians need special help. Unless the difficulties of the Indian child lacking a background in the majority culture are pointed out to teachers, none but the most gifted and perceptive will grasp and supply the things the child needs. In-service training programs for teachers . . . should be continued and strengthened. All persons in contact with the Indian school child--bus drivers, dormitory attendants, and teachers' aids--need special training.

There is little in the literature to indicate that in-service training programs are actually a reality. However, Landes (351) has produced an important book describing one such experiment in California, which might profitably serve as a guide to others contemplating inauguration of such a program.

C. PARENTS

A child's success in school depends in large part upon the help and encouragement he receives from his parents. The recent Coleman study (114) investigated the relationship between family background and academic achievement, and proved it to be far more decisive than many had suspected. Forty years ago the Meriam report (427:349) stated, "No matter how much may be done in the schools, or how much the educational program may center around the school, a genuine educational program will have to comprise the adults of the community as well as the children." The report quotes with approval a statement from Dean James E. Russell:

> However important may be the contribution of the schools, the atmosphere and condition of the home are, especially in the early years of the child's life, the primary determinant in the development of the child, and, since it is the parents who determine these conditions and create that atmosphere, it is

> they who are of necessity the most important educational factors in the lives of their children.

If such be the case, it is surprising that in the literature on American Indian education one finds so little systematic research on parents. To be sure, most writers make passing reference to the role of parents in their children's education, and a few have conducted limited interviews; but for a closer look into the problem we must turn to Bernadoni (54), Harkins (241), Parmee (476), Wax (660), and Wolcott (692).

A reading of the literature leaves one confused as to just what attitude Indian parents do hold regarding formal education for their children. The word most commonly encountered is "apathy," or some synonym therefor. A common complaint of teachers of Indian children has always been that the parents are indifferent, apathetic, or uncooperative. Thompson (610:96) cites the reply of an Indian chief to the Virginia colonists who offered to educate the youths of the tribe:

> Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the college . . . they were instructed . . . but, they came back to us . . . ignorant of every means of living in the woods . . . totally good for nothing.

The early records refer repeatedly to the frustration experienced by the missionary-teachers, arising from the lack of enthusiasm and encouragement on the part of the Indian parents. Nor has there been much improvement, in the opinion of many observers. West (675), writing of the Indians in Detroit, notes that the older members of the community, remembering the harsh discipline and intolerance to which they were subjected in boarding schools, "do not insist that their children finish school." The recent survey of California Indians (304:36) notes that many of the school administrators who were interviewed included "lack of parental encouragement and supervision" among the chief obstacles to the Indian student's academic achievement. And Roessel (530:21) says, doubtless with good reason, that "the Indian child frequently obtains no positive encouragement from his parents."

Others, however, have defended the Indian against this charge of "apathy." The Waxes (659) insist that "apathy is a convenient label to apply to people who don't happen to agree with the program that a government official or other reformer happens to be pushing." Parmee (576:85) reports that from time to time efforts were made to organize a PTA group which would include both Anglo and Apache parents. These attempts invariably failed. The Anglos blamed it on the apathy of the Indians, but the Apaches said it was because the Anglos sought to dominate all the meetings. Parmee further defends the Apaches against the frequent charge of apathy saying (p. 20):

> Under extreme conditions of poverty and unemployment, home life and schooling are bound to suffer. . . . In such circumstances parental support of the school program is often overwhelmed by the size and complexity of the daily family trials. Some Anglos call this "apathy."

Often, perhaps, behavior which the non-Indian interprets as apathy is actually a widespread and traditional reluctance on the part of Indians to interfere in the affairs of others, including their own children. Wax and Thomas (663) furnish an excellent analysis of the pattern, pointing out that "the Indian . . . from earliest childhood, is trained to regard absolute non-interference in interpersonal relations as decent or normal," the lesson being taught by precept and example. It is manifested in the child-rearing practices of so many Indian societies that Driver (158:458) is able to reach the generalization that "North American Indians were very permissive with their children as compared with Europeans." Such permissiveness has been reported by many students of Indian cultures, including Wolcott (692:24), Joseph (323:124), Leighton and Kluckhohn (364:passim), Macgregor (384:123 ff.), Leighton and Adair (365:64f.), Thompson (614:52), Chance (108:22ff.), and others. Garcia (206) found that most of the Arapaho parents whom he interviewed thought their children would have to "make up their own minds" as to whether or not they wanted to continue their education beyond high school, and Rist (524) concluded that the permissive atmosphere of the Shoshone home was not conducive to academic achievement. Among the Apaches, growth of population and the limitations of the reservation's resources are making it necessary that young men make wise vocational choices, and Bernardoni (54) undertook to assess the role that parents play in the process. He found that most of them "play a minimal role," and were hesitant about even mentioning the subject to their sons. Bernardoni recognizes a number of factors responsible for this situation, one of which is the Indian's reluctance to interfere.

Here and there in the literature one finds reports, not simply of apathy and indifference, but of downright hostility. Or, at least, suspicion and fear. This was especially true with respect to the boarding schools a few generations back. Johnston (318:48) says, "The notion of abandoning one's children to the care of strangers, particularly non-Navaho strangers, was anathema to the Navaho." Here and elsewhere force had to be applied. Don Talayesva, Hopi, tells (572:89) how his people felt about the government school established at Keams Canyon in the 1880s:

> At first our chief had not wanted to send Oraibi children, but chiefs from other villages came and persuaded him. . . . Most of the people disliked this and refused to cooperate. Troops came to Oraibi several times to take the children by force and carry them off in wagons.

Many Utes, according to Atkinson (22), so "dislike the white man and all his ways" that they inevitably convey to their children negative feelings toward the schools, with the result that "they will not try to succeed." Oftentimes Indians who desire to retain their identity and to perpetuate their traditions are perceptive enough to see that the white man's school presents a serious threat. Zintz (706:73) comments upon the trend in New Mexico to transfer Indian children to the public schools, saying:

> This transfer confronts many Indian elders with many philosophical problems about the future of their cultural heritage. Interaction with non-Indians may facilitate learning the English language, acquiring skills for competing economically in the labor market, and attaining a middle-class standard of living. However, the elders must face the possibility that their children will not learn their mother tongue, the nature lore, the moral values, the ceremonial rites, and the prayers of their people, and to them these are more important.

Wahrhaftig (649) found the attitude much the same among the Cherokees of eastern Oklahoma. They have seen too many of their young men and women graduate from high school and college and promptly leave the community and enter the white man's world, and so they are "coming to realize that educating their young is a way of losing their young." So with the Arizona Apaches, studied by Parmee (476), who reports that "many Indians have been extremely suspicious

... of sinister Anglo aims behind the education program," namely, to make white men of them.

Despite the apathy, hostility, and suspicion, which are undoubtedly present, the main impression one gains from a reading of the literature, however, is that Indians now place a high value upon schooling and desire it for their children. Almost every writer on Indian education testifies to this fact. Wolcott (692:79) says of the Kwakiutl, "Expressed vaguely as a desirable something to have, education is highly endorsed." The Minnesota Sioux, according to Hassinger (246), are eager for their children to attend public schools with the whites, to become integrated into white society, and hopefully to settle elsewhere than on the reservation. It is somewhat different, however, with the Indians of Tesuque pueblo. There, says Wadia (648), the Indians are "most wary and distrustful of all outsiders, especially Anglos, whom they blame for all their troubles; but, even so, "they feel that the Government should help them much more than it is doing at present . . . providing better facilities for vocational training and higher education." Zentner (700) studied the attitude of Oregon Indians, and found that, while they place slightly less emphasis upon education than do the whites, 85 per cent of them would be "very upset" if their children failed to graduate from high school, and "put a great deal of pressure" on them to go on for further training. Finally, we have the testimony of certain prominent Indian leaders themselves, such as Jose (322) and Wesley (672), who plead for more and better education for their people.

The attitude of the Indian toward formal education, increasingly favorable though it appears to be, is nevertheless thoroughly pragmatic, according to most investigators. Wax (660:42ff.) found that "Sioux parents tend to regard all education with a benign if muzzy favor," but adds, "Education means attending school so that one may get a remunerative job." The Papago, according to Joseph (323:100), bitterly opposed the establishment of schools, which they regarded as symbols of encroachment and "one of the many techniques of the white man for doing away with Indian life." But they now feel otherwise, and they send their children to school for "the material advantages to be gained," and because "they believe that being able to speak English when necessary will bring better jobs, more money, clothes, amusements, and food luxuries--things they have come to esteem and desire." So with the Hopi, according to Thompson (614:123):

> The children are sent to school by their parents usually not out of genuine admiration for the values of reading, writing, and American history, or because our system of moral education is thought to be truly desirable and superior to their own, but, as they openly voice it, because school may provide them with necessary tools for defense--first of all the knowledge of English--in the fight for their own survival in contact with a physically stronger force.

It is apparent that the Indian's attitude toward formal education changes with the passage of time. The Navahos, according to Johnston (318:49) were for many years either indifferent or hostile, but World War II marked a turning point. The Selective Service discovered that 88 per cent of Navaho males between 18 and 35 were illiterate. "These findings, coupled with the growing recognition of the importance of education for desirable off-reservation employment, brought renewed interest in education among the Navaho." Change also occurred at the pueblo of Cochiti, according to Lange (354). Until recently these were conservative people, suspicious of the white man's tricks. But they have acquired a desire for television, electricity, etc., even the most conservative among them. To obtain these things they need wages and cash income, and they have come to recognize the value of formal education for achieving their wishes. Parmee (476:38) notes that for the Apaches school enrollment since World War II has "remained well above the 90% mark." However, "this was not true twenty or thirty years ago when many Apache parents hid their children from the school disciplinary officers." It should be noted, however, that the change in attitude sometimes moves in the opposite direction. Hughes (296:312ff.) found that among the Eskimos of St. Lawrence Island the school in the early days served many useful purposes and was generally appreciated; but lately, even though education is still highly valued, its disruptive effects are apparent, and many of the villagers complain that "the young are being educated away from their native culture." Spicer (592) maintains that in general Indian education has passed through three phases: (1) a period of resistance, which lasted into the 1920s; (2) a period of several decades when Indians felt the need of schools for their children, but the need was not matched by white society; and (3) the period in which we now find ourselves, when serious efforts are being made to meet the Indians' educational demands.

The white man has always displayed a readiness to generalize about Indians and to force them into convenient stereotypes. The fact is that Indian societies are today, and always have been, widely different, and this is made abundantly clear in the literature on Indian education. Not only does each tribe, or reservation, or community differ from the others, but there are differences within each group. Spicer (23:37f.) has warned against the tendency "to see the Indian cultures as monolithic entities . . . in an unchanging equilibrium." Instead, he says, there are "multiform tendencies among Indians . . . segments moving in different directions at the same time."

This should not be surprising, for in our own society we see deep cleavages between white and black, rich and poor, liberal and conservative, North and South. Indian communities, too, have their factions and cleavages. West (675) says of the Indians in Detroit:

> Among the obstacles to Indian unity are dissensions arising between the Canadian Indians and Indians of the United States; between Indians from Michigan and Indians from other sections of the country, between full-bloods and mixed-bloods, between Indians with good jobs and Indians with menial jobs, and between Indians with more schooling and Indians with less schooling.

For the educator, however, the type of cleavage having the most significance is that based upon orientation. Some Indians, it seems, are favorably disposed toward the knowledge, values, and skills of white society and make an effort to acquire them. Many have gone so far as to lose their Indian identity altogether and to become absorbed into the general American society. Others have quite different orientations. Such internal differences have serious educational consequences.

Factionalism in Indian communities has been reported by a great many students. French (200) found it at Isleta, McFee (412) among the Blackfeet of Montana, Ricciardelli (520) among the Iroquois, and Jenny (313:81, 389, etc.) reports it for several communities. Don Talayesva, a Hopi, recalls the discord in his own village of Oraibi around the turn of the century:

> Our ancestors had predicted the coming of these Whites and said that they would cause us much trouble. But it was understood that we had to put up with them. . . . Those who would have nothing to do with the Whites were called "Hostiles" and those who would cooperate a little were called "Friendlies."

> These two groups were quarreling over the subject from my earliest memories.

Many others have used a simple dichotomy to describe the conflicting orientations. Wadia (648) speaks of "Conservatives" and "Progressives" at Tesuque, Wax (660) and Macgregor (384) of "full-bloods" and "mixed-bloods" at Pine Ridge, Wahrhaftig (649) of "tribal Indians" and those who have forsaken the traditions. Other students have employed a three-fold classification. Tolbert (625) finds among the Mississippi Choctaws the "Native," "Transitional," and "Marginal"; Lange (354) speaks of the "Conservatives," "Progressives," and "Middle-of-the-roaders" at Cochiti; and Carter (104) classified those in Rapid City as "Camp," "Shack," and "House" Indians. The Spindlers (594) are especially illuminating with their delineation: (1) Native Type; (2) Reaffirmative Type; (3) Transitional (with several variations); (4) a Special Deviant Type; and (5) Acculturated Types. Each represents a certain response to, and attitude toward, white society and culture.

Why we find these various types is a baffling question. Wax (660) lays great stress upon the degree of isolation, which creates a gulf between the "country Indian" and the town dweller. Some view the differences as chiefly a function of age. Both Robin (528) and Kennedy (333), who studied the Pomo, insist that the younger members of the tribe are oriented toward white society, while it is the oldsters who look to the past and to tradition. Some find an explanation in the unique and frustrating experiences which Indians have with white America. The Spindlers (594), for example, maintain that the "Reaffirmative Native Type," which is most numerous on the reservations, is one who "has experienced wide and intensive contact with white culture . . . encountered blocks in his adaptation . . . has rebounded from white culture back to the tradition-oriented primary group maintained by geographical isolation and the influence of elders." Connelly (119), who was a teacher in the Hopi village of Shungopavi, describes one particularly hostile individual:

> Herbert had learned to despise the white man. He was a product of boarding school regimentation and had returned to the reservation with bitterness, a nagging attitude, and a trade he could not use, with only a froth of academic learning, and with no place in white civilization and only a precariously held position in his own society.

Spicer (592) looks to the unique features of the Indian's history and his minority group status to explain why "many as they grow up react violently against this whole body of traditions . . . and move into the general stream of American life," while others "accept the whole body of tradition or parts of it as symbols of protest against the frustrations they have met."

It is apparent that adult Indians have diverse and complex attitudes toward the white man and his institutions. A child's academic career could hardly fail to be profoundly affected by the orientation of his parents.

D. CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

Nowadays, with increasing concern for the education of children of the inner-city slums, there have come into vogue certain expressions, such as "culturally deprived" and "socially disadvantaged," which serve both to characterize and to explain their plight. An extensive literature has appeared dealing with the problems of the slum schools and of the pupils who attend them.

The fact that Indian children suffer innumerable handicaps and obstacles in the pursuit of their education has always been recognized, but only recently has the concept of "cultural deprivation" been applied to them by educators.

There are those who maintain that the concept is not only inappropriate in this case but is downright pernicious. For example, Wax (660:67ff.) blasts what he chooses to call the "vacuum ideology" of school administrators and teachers. He defines this as "the disposition . . . to support policies and programs (such as the establishment of nursery schools) with the assertion that the Indian home and the mind of the Indian child are meager, empty, or lacking in pattern." On the contrary, Wax maintains that the Indian child, by the time he starts to school, has acquired a considerable body of knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills. "The urban middle-class children have more knowledge of jet planes, rocket ships, and hydrogen bombs, but . . . Sioux children have more experience with horses, cattle, and the life of the prairie." Wax insists that the vacuum ideology serves two purposes: (1) it enables the educators to rationalize their failures, and (2) it justifies a variety of school practices, such as "enriching" experiences, enrollment in school at earlier and earlier ages, etc. In the 1930s, Mekeel (423), writing also about the Pine Ridge Sioux, had pointed out that the Indian child, by the time he has reached the age of six, had already accumulated a store of knowledge and experience. The vast ethnographic literature testifies, also, to the fact that the primitive child acquires a rich cultural heritage without the benefit of formal education. The "vacuum ideology" clearly has nothing to recommend it.

It is true, nevertheless, that much of the literature on Indian education reveals the assumption that the Indian child has little or nothing in his background upon which the schools might build. Even the Meriam report (427), while it did make passing reference to the preservation of the Indian heritage, seems to have ignored that heritage in its prescriptions. Orata (462:6), whom Wax cites as a horrible example of the vacuum ideology, enumerates the problems he faced in the operation of his school on the Sioux reservation--"insufficient and badly balanced food, bad sanitation, poor housing, inadequate facilities, ignorance and superstition, primitive methods of agriculture, soil erosion, and all the rest of the barriers to progress." But even Orata enumerates, as one of his goals, "Preservation and improvement of native culture." Occasionally someone goes so far as to hint that there are even positive values in the Indian's background which the schools ought to search out and utilize. Jackson (308), who served as a teacher in Alaska, notes the fact that her pupils were characterized by cooperativeness, humor, freedom from self-blame and parental overprotection, enjoyment of music and sports, lessened sibling rivalry, etc. And Mekeel (423), having studied the Sioux, recommended that "white administrators should understand and utilize the native culture in the educational system." This theme, however, is not especially prominent in the literature. More common is the idea that the Indian comes to school, not only unfamiliar with values and attitudes which he must acquire, but actually handicapped by habits and attitudes which need to be eradicated if he is to be educated. For many years teachers directed their efforts to the suppression of the heathen languages, customs, and traditions.

Throughout the literature there runs the theme that the Indian child comes from a home environment which is anything but conducive to academic success. In page after page of the Mizen survey (436) we read: "Housing is very inadequate. . . . No sewage facilities are available. . . . Ninety per cent of the housing units are overcrowded. . . . Three generations living in two-bedroom units. . . . Water from unapproved sources." Rist (524) describes the "average Shoshone home" as "quite small, one or two rooms, furniture is sparse . . . often five to ten people will live in this small house, water is hauled from the community center or obtained from a stream; very little, if any, reading matter." Branchard (77) found the North Dakota Chippewas significantly lower on the California Achievement Tests than their white schoolmates, and attributed the inferiority to the Indian's poor home environment. "In the home . . . the Indian speaks a patois. . . . Parents have had little schooling. . . . Do not have radio, magazines, newspapers, etc." Felber (181) gathered data on 124 Indian pupils in the public schools of Sisseton, S.D., found their records quite poor, and laid the blame upon their "impoverished home environment." Garcia (206) interviewed teachers and administrators responsible for Arapaho students in Wyoming, and found that "most of the educators thought the home life of the majority of their Arapaho students was detrimental to their progress in school." Parmee (476) says of the Apaches that "living conditions on the reservation are deplorable, with almost all the families living in one or two-room shacks, without electricity, plumbing, a nearby water source, adequate light, heat, or ventilation." Parmee concludes, "As people live from day to day in economic misery, the simple tasks of home life, such as getting the children off to school each day, become great hurdles." Not only in the educational literature, but in all reports on the present-day Indian, the shameful and abject conditions are emphasized (436:passim; 81:166-170). It would seem obvious that satisfactory academic achievement could hardly be expected from children who come from such a home environment. However, Bailey (28) does raise some doubt. He compared a group of good readers and a group of poor readers among full-blood Ute children in Utah. He did find a significant and positive relationship between reading ability and other measures of academic success. Also, he found that reading ability of the Indian mother is related to the child's success. Regarding other factors which he studied, however, he reported "such variables as the number of books in the home, educational level of the parents, number of people in the home, number of square feet in the home, English speaking ability of the parents, age and condition of the home, the parents' attitudes toward school, are not related to reading ability."

Another factor which might be regarded as "deprivation" or "disadvantage" is that of health. Many investigators have reported that Indian children come to school ill, inadequately clothed, and malnourished. The poor state of the Indian's health and the high incidence of certain diseases are well known (e.g., 81:159-178). Many writers have reported the effectiveness of the hot lunch program in promoting the school attendance of Indian children. Recently Lund (380), a teacher in a California public school, studied the records of 46 of the 60 Indian pupils who had attended that school over a 10-year period. She found high dropout and truancy rates, poor attendance, frequent repetition of grades, and low academic scores. She also found a very high incidence of earaches and hearing deficiencies, widespread vision difficulties and deficiencies, general need of dental work, and high rates of bronchial and lung infections and of colds. Among other factors to which she attributed their academic failures were crowded living conditions, lack of parental supervision and interest, and social isolation resulting from living on a reservation.

A third way of looking at "deprivation," and the one which has received most attention from educators, is by noting the kinds of experiences which the child has had, or failed to have, prior to his entering school. Granted that the Indian child has a fund of knowledge and experience which the white, middle-class, urban child does not have, the fact remains that the experiences which the latter do have are precisely the kind which contribute to success in the schools as they are now operated. Twenty years ago Peterson (489:10) made the point that "many Indian children do not come to school possessing a familiarity with the English language or with much of the background experience which is common to the lives and environment of most white children." Mekeel (423), who certainly rejected the idea of a cultural vacuum, nevertheless observed that "a background is assumed which the Indian children lacks. . . . The readers used in the Indian Day Schools, for instance, are those designed for white children. These books contain fairy stories and other idioms of fantasy familiar to a white child. Some of these naturally make no appeal and are unintelligible to a Sioux child brought up in another mythological background." Beatty (39:504), who served long as Chief of the BIA Branch of Education, expounded the idea, even using the word "deprived":

> Almost all Indian children in our schools come from isolated rural homes. Many are even remote from the ubiquitous motion picture; few are familiar with piped water, sanitary toilets, oil lamps or electricity, paved roads, fuel oil, plastered walls or wall paper, ocean liners (and in some areas even row boats), two story houses, elevators, postmen, fire engines, and any of the thousands of urban experiences common to the city white child. Possibly more significant . . . is the absence of the newspaper, the magazine, the advertising poster

> and the thousand and one other examples of the printed word which furnish the average white child a rich and stimulating series of vicarious experiences. . . . The Indian child is therefore deprived of the supplementary teaching which is an unconscious part of the life of almost every white child from birth.

Thus, the concept of "cultural deprivation" has come to enjoy a certain vogue, and in the literature one finds frequent references to the fact that teachers and administrators are convinced that the poor academic achievement of the Indian stems in part from his limited experience. By way of empirical evidence, Mayfield (401) conducted a study of Navaho youths at Intermountain School at Brigham City, Utah, to determine their "readiness for reading." First, he examined all pre-primers, primers, and first year readers in six nationally used reading series, to determine the concepts which the editors of these texts believed pupils should have prior to their first reading experience. He selected 165 concepts (e.g., train conductor, thermos bottle, dog collar, etc.), with pictures to accompany each, and beside each picture he placed five words, one of which was to be selected by the pupil as representing that picture. The test was then administered to the Navaho students to determine their understanding of the concepts. The range of items which the students failed to identify was from 0 to 133, clearly indicating how unprepared many were for comprehending the readers employed.

Thus, if "cultural deprivation" is equated with "cultural vacuum," the concept would seem to be not only erroneous but even harmful and regrettable. But if it is interpreted as implying an impoverished home environment, poor health, undernourishment, and unfamiliarity with those experiences which contribute to academic achievement and successful adjustment to American society, it would seem to have considerable validity.

E. THE CULTURAL BARRIER

Whether or not the Indian child is "culturally deprived" is debatable, and the decision depends upon one's understanding of deprivation; but the fact that he begins his formal education with a cultural heritage which differs appreciably from that of the school's administrators, policy makers, and teachers cannot be doubted. This cultural barrier is a difficult one to surmount, and many fail to make it. It is often stated that this conflict of cultures which develops in the school situation is a major obstacle to the Indian child's academic success.

There are some who maintain that the Indian today possesses a civilization of great antiquity, to which he is deeply attached, and which he is determined to perpetuate. He has succeeded thus far, to everyone's surprise, in resisting the efforts of the white man to destroy that culture and to supplant it with his own brand of civilization. The school, the Indian rightly suspects, is a device for hastening his assimilation, and he resists it as best he can by withdrawal, indifference, and non-cooperation. There are many, admittedly, who have succumbed to the pressures and have become assimilated.

At the other extreme there are those, including some Indians, who conclude that the old cultures have been shattered and can never be revived. The culture which the Indian now possesses, they say, bears little resemblance to that of his ancestors, and is instead the product of centuries of isolation, poverty, exploitation, and paternalism. The Indian, if he is to improve his lot, has no choice but to accept the situation and to enter the mainstream of American society.

Informed people are found somewhere on a continuum between these two extremes. Closer to the latter position is that of the anthropologist Manners (393), who writes:

> The problem of Indian survival has been viewed by some . . . as the problem of maintaining an "Indian way of life," whatever that may be. . . . In order that most American Indian groups may grow or live at all it may be necessary that they abandon their Indian "way of life." . . . Most Indians talk longingly about the land and the old days . . . but virtually all the younger--and a good many of the older Indians as well--realize the dreamlike quality of the world they talk about. They know that they are overstating the case for the glories of the past. . . . Most of them would not have it if were handed to them on a platter.

Near the other extreme on the continuum was John Collier, BIA Commissioner between 1933 and 1945. He was convinced that much of the old way of life still remained, and he encouraged the Indians to retain their tribal identifications and cultures. At the same time he tried to assist them in becoming self-sustaining, and held out to them the promise of their becoming integrated into American society as Indians. Collier has had many supporters, especially among anthropologists. Says Lesser (369), "Their endurance, with the deep sense of tradition and identity, is a remarkable phenomenon. . . . They have survived despite the generations of national effort to force assimilation upon them." And, according to Tax (23:110), Indians are "persisting in maintaining their own identity and their own values against the steam-roller effect that is submerging most of us."

Some fifteen years ago a group of social scientists and administrators, all of whom were experienced in Indian affairs, met in Chicago to discuss the basic issues of Indian survival. Their conclusions, as reported by Provinse (503), were:

> Most Indian groups in the United States . . . in spite of strong external pressures . . . have not yet become assimilated . . . and will continue indefinitely as distinct social units, preserving their basic values, personality, and Indian way of life, while making continual adjustments, often superficial in nature, to the economic and political demands of the larger society.

Generalizing about Indians is a precarious undertaking, since they differ so greatly one from another. At the time of discovery the differences in language and customs from tribe to tribe were as great, to use a trite comparison, as those between the English and the Chinese. It is no less true today. Some groups, such as the Zuni and the Hopi, have retained a great deal of their old culture, while others (Narragansetts, Nanticokes, Chickahominy, Lumbees, etc.) have preserved very little, except their conviction that they are Indians. It is even hazardous to generalize about a particular community, since there are cleavages and differences between the old and the young, and between the ever-present conservatives and progressives.

Many writers have testified to the destruction, or the erosion, of the Indian's way of life. Colson (115) says the Makah have become quite assimilated, but not entirely. They still hold on to some of the old "meanings," and to their identity. They think of themselves as Makah, and even identify with all Indians, though they do look down upon other tribes as less civilized. Yet they do extol the ancient traditions as a sort of myth, without really caring for the substance. Younger Makah prefer the modern life, and even the elders would not return to the old days. The situation is much the same with the Minnesota Sioux, according to Hassinger (246), who found that they were all Episcopalians, they work as farmers and mechanics, they want the same things their white neighbors want, and they want to become integrated into white society. There is a tremendous volume of research showing how the Indian cultures were destroyed, or at least profoundly affected and altered, by the impact of European culture, and a brief summary of the results, along with a comparison of the various regions, has been made by Vogt (646:140ff.)

In all these studies of contact and change the fact emerges that certain aspects of a culture change more readily than others, that certain items seem to be adopted with less reluctance than others, and that people hold tenaciously to some of their customs and traditions while others they relinquish with apparent ease. When Europeans arrived, the Indians were unimpressed by many features of the white man's civilization, but they eagerly adopted guns, horses, glass beads, metal tools, and rum. The white man likewise found in the Indian's culture much that appealed to him, such as tobacco, maize, beans, squash, certain crafts, and other items too numerous to mention, but he looked with disdain upon much in the Indian's way of life.

Superficially it appears that people are disposed to adopt from strangers those material, tangible items whose utility is obvious, while resisting the intangible ideas, values, sentiments, and habits. The numerous sociological studies of the assimilation process as it affected the diverse nationalities who came as immigrants to America, however, prove that such is not always the case. As for the Indians, Bruner (85, 86) maintains that the most persistent are those elements of the culture which one acquires in the early years, and Eggan (168) holds that strong emotional conditioning during the learning process is crucial in cultural continuity. Vogt (646) discusses several hypotheses which have been advanced to account for the persistence of Indian culture despite the pressures for assimilation which white society has exerted.

This process of change and adaptation has led to what Wahrhaftig (649) calls "the myth of assimilation." Whites in Oklahoma, he says, are convinced that Indians are "becoming more like whites," and are being integrated into the general society. It is believed that even the "hardheaded fullbloods," who live in the hills, will eventually and inevitably follow suit. Wahrhaftig finds the basis for this belief in the fact that Indians have taken over an enormous amount of the white man's culture--clothing, automobiles, television, refrigerators, housing, etc.--and that "their manner of living looks like that of the surrounding population," Whites do not see any Indian culture, for "there are no feathers and war bonnets in Eastern Oklahoma." But Wahrhaftig finds that Indian culture "has tended to change but to remain Indian, albeit different," and that their communities are "sizable, viable, cohesive, and surprisingly energetic."

What are these intangible traits onto which Indians have held with such tenacity? We might expect the list to differ from one society to another, in view of the historic variability of Indian cultures, and of the different conditions of contact. Wahrhaftig (649) says of the Oklahoma Cherokees that they have preserved their language, their patterns of social relationships, their conception of themselves as a distinct people, their notion of what constitutes success, and their attitudes toward their environment. Kennedy (333) maintains that the Pomo, despite centuries of exposure to Russian, Spanish, and American influences, and despite a considerable trend toward assimilation, still retain their ancient attitudes toward disease, the family, and material possessions, and among them the concept of generosity is so firmly implanted as a virtue that the "American values of thrift, economy, and foresight have gained little headway." Joseph (323:27), writing of the Papago, says:

> What is left of Papago culture? A few members of the tribe have become Americanized, but the majority are still very much Papago. . . . Many of the old customs and beliefs still dominate the people's lives today, not because the Papago want to reject new things but just because, to them, the old way is "the way to do things." Yet there is no rigidity in the Papago adherence to their old ways. Adaptibility seems to be a fundamental part of Papago character.

Even though present-day Indian societies differ with respect to how much of their old culture they have retained, and what specific elements of it have survived, attempts have been made to formulate some generalizations. The Spindlers (594) have combed the literature, seeking to discover the most widely shared psychological characteristics, and they have cautiously hypothesized the following (which we have drastically paraphrased): (1) reserve; (2) generosity; (3) individual autonomy; (4) bravery and courage; (5) fear of the world as dangerous; (6) a "practical joker" strain; (7) attention to the concrete realities of the present; and (8) dependence upon supernatural power.

Kelly (227:11-19), approaching the problem in a different way, maintains that every society in the world possesses an historically created set of values, "which are largely unconscious and tend to change very slowly"; and, however modified they may be, "the basic patterns thus created in Indian life persist to the present time." Kelly, while stressing the fact of individual differences and the dangers of generalizing, maintains that most Indians "live in the present . . . care little or nothing about wealth . . . are not thrifty . . . are generous, . . . remain silent and inactive until they understand the situation . . . are sensitive to the feelings and wishes of others . . . do not lean upon advice or correction from others . . . do not coerce each other . . . do not ask favors . . . and do not interrupt."

Often quoted in the literature is Reifel's (611:13-21) analysis of the differences between the Indian way of life and that of the white American. The Indian , he says, is prone to live in the present, to seek "harmony with nature," rather than "conquest over nature," to be less time-conscious, is not given to saving, and does not exalt the virtue of hard work. These attitudes, Reifel explains, were a logical outgrowth of the Indian's adjustment to his environment, and, while many Indians have adjusted to and accepted the quite contrary values of white society, many have not learned to do so.

Many other attempts have been made to delineate the basic values, attitudes, and habits of the Indian (cf., e.g., 1, 391, 493, 496, 530, 535, 588, 663, 708), and there is a great deal of consensus manifested. Their contrast with the basic values of American society are distinct and pronounced. One of the best analyses of the American value system is to be found in Robin Williams' American Society, wherein the author examines such major themes as achievement and success, work and activity, efficiency and practicality, progress, material comfort, freedom and equality, humanitarianism, conformity, nationalism, science and secular rationality, etc. Our schools, of course, exalt, teach, and exemplify these basic American values.

Several investigators have touched upon the educational problems which result from the fact that the Indian's culture often conflicts with that of the school, but certainly the matter has not received the attention it deserves. This would seem to be an area where research and experimentation are needed.

Take, for example, the simple matter of enrolling in school and of attending regularly, which the white American regards as of paramount importance. With many Indians the feeling is quite otherwise. Kelly (331:14) says, "No one knows why Indian families, in fairly large numbers, fail to send their children to school at the age of six." Wahrhaftig (649:71, 73), however, says that the less-assimilated Oklahoma Indians regard the schools with suspicion; they have seen so many of their educated youngsters leave the community that they "are coming to realize that educating their young is a way of losing their young." Many students, on the other hand, report that Indians are coming to place a high value upon education, but it is apparent that the school enjoys a somewhat different position in the value hierarchy in white and Indian society.

Some have commented upon the extent of tardiness and absenteeism on the part of Indian pupils, and have interpreted these shortcomings, which are so disturbing to the school's routine, as being manifestations of the Indian's lack of concern with time, or of his unwillingness to interfere with the wishes of others, even his own children, or with his tradition of permissiveness in child rearing. Wolcott (693:101f.) reports that, when he was serving as teacher in a Kwakiutl village, he made it a practice to walk through the village on his way to school, corralling such pupils as were ready and disposed to join him. Says he, "This idea helped punctuality, it cut down excuses about not being able to hear the handbell, and there was a certain public relations feature, I hoped, in having the villagers see the teacher on duty each morning."

Competition is a prominent feature of the American value system, and it is conspicuous in the school's operation. Many writers maintain, however, that cooperation, rather than competition, is characteristic of the Indian's way of life, and this conflict of values impairs the Indian child's academic success. Jules Henry, in his book, Culture Against Man, says:

> I deplore the fact that the elementary school pitches motivation at an intensely competitive level, but I see no sense in altering that approach, because children have to live in a competive world.

Frequently in the literature, however, one finds reference to the fact that the Indian pupil is reluctant to enter into competition with his classmates, hesitates to answer the teacher's question when others are unable to do so, is embarrassed to be singled out for praise or to receive higher grades, etc. Roessel (530:30) describes the traumatic experience of a Navaho pupil who, because of his superior classroom performance, found a gold star placed beside his name on the class roll. Joseph (323:38) says of the Papago, "They do not feel the urge to outdo their neighbors." It is so among the Sioux, according to Macgregor (384:135), among the Hopi, according to Thompson (516:119), and among the Navahos, according to Kluckhohn and Leighton (341:passim). Kutsche (348), who studied the dropout problem among the North Carolina Cherokees, lays the blame partly upon the competitive atmosphere of the school. Says he, "The Cherokee are noncompetitive; they resist competition in school," even in its most innocent forms.

Vandalism is another problem encountered in the schools, and some have sought to explain it as a conflict between the white man's obsession with the value of material objects and the Indian's indifference theretc. Macgregor (384:127) says, "Among the Sioux property does not have the high value associated with it in white society"; and he describes how parents will watch undisturbed while their children dismantle a car or drag good harness across the ground. Wax (660:63-67) gives a somewhat different interpretation. He maintains that destructiveness is a "testing of reality." The authorities tell the Indians that the school is "theirs," but they doubt this statement and they choose to expose the pretense by engaging in vandalism.

Ulibarri (634) has demonstrated that teachers are often unaware of the cultural differences which separate them from their Indian pupils, but the literature does reveal many instances of sensitivity on the part of teachers. To cite one instance, which also reveals the complexity and difficulty with a multi-cultural classroom, Provance (502) reports on her experiences as an English teacher in an Alaskan boarding school, where her pupils were Eskimo, Aleut, and Indian. The Eskimos, she says, were not motivated by rewards, were embarrassed to receive either praise or prizes, were accustomed to great permissiveness, had great respect for individual rights, were resentful of pressure or insistence, and never wanted to appear to know more than others in the group. The Tlingit were quite different. They had a strong social class feeling, a sense of personal property ownership, were accustomed to harsh discipline, and were motivated to strive for exceptional achievement. The teacher of a multi-cultural classroom indeed faces a challenge.

In the literature one finds reference to numerous other problems arising from the fact that Indian children often hold a set of habits, values, and attitudes at variance with those of the school and its personnel--problems of discipline, of attitudes toward authority, of motivation, of achievement-orientation, of etiquette, etc. While no small amount of research has been done on the content of the Indian cultural heritage, and on the extent to which this has survived into the present, relatively little seems to have been done on the problem of how this impinges upon the school situation, and on the question of how the problems arising from the conflict of cultures in the classroom might be resolved. Among the more thorough explorations are those of Wax (660), Wolcott (692), Witherspoon (689), and Zintz (706); but the magnitude of the problem calls for much additional research.

F. THE LANGUAGE BARRIER

Many Indian children begin their formal education with little or no skill in the use of the English language. Just how many it would be impossible to say. In the states of New Mexico and Arizona there are some 56,000 Indian children of school age, and, according to Kelly (227:11), "not one in a hundred starts school with a knowledge of English." Wax (660:30) says of the Pine Ridge Sioux, "Many know no English at all," and states further that those who come from conservative homes show "little inclination to use English in any context except the classroom or to develop any fluency in it" (p. 103). Beatty (39:504), when Chief of the BIA Branch of Education, wrote:

> More than half the children enrolling in Federal schools do not use English as a native language. More than 30% of the Indian children in public schools are bilingual. On the average, more than 15% of all Indian school children come from homes in which no English is spoken. For many of these children, therefore, English is a foreign language.

Zintz (706:112-137) attempted to determine the extent of the language problem in New Mexico. He experimented first with a diagnostic test designed to determine the English language skills of foreign students attending colleges in the United States. The test was administered to a group of Apache students in grades 7 through 12. Their mean score was 108.64, whereas a score of 125 is deemed necessary for one properly qualified to handle the English language. The test was also administered to a group of Indian high school graduates, and, while their mean score was 127.4, all the Navahos in the group manifested a deficiency. Zintz, however, concluded that the test was inappropriate for the Indian population, and he devised other instruments for determining the ability of Indian students to comprehend idioms, antonyms, and analogies. These tests, which were widely administered, proved the Indian students significantly inferior to their Anglo classmates (cf., also, 159, 426, 696).

This unfamiliarity with the language of the classroom is doubtless a tremendous handicap, and some regard it as the major obstacle to the Indian child's academic success. The recent survey conducted under the auspices of the Fund for the Republic (81:139) says, "Comprehending the meaning and significance of words in relation to culture is an important, if not the overriding difficulty Indian students have in school." And, according to Zintz (706:112):

> Approximately 90 per cent of the activity that goes on in elementary schools during the formal school day is estimated to be reading and writing activity. This activity is pursued, of course, in the English language. For approximately half of the pupils in the public schools, in New Mexico, English is, in reality, a second language. In their attempts to perform in this bilingual situation, these children labor under a considerable handicap.

Mention has been made above (pp. 44ff.) of the fact that Indians on the average do poorly on the various tests of intelligence and achievement which require a command of English, but do well on other kinds of tests. Also, several investigators have demonstrated that children from homes in which English is spoken outperform those from homes where an Indian language is used. For example, Deissler (147) proved this to be the case with Indians in South Dakota, and Purley (505), who studied Indian students at Brigham Young University, found that those for whom English was the primary language outperformed those who were bilingual, on SCAT and ACE tests, and also maintained higher grade point averages.

The language handicap grows increasingly greater as one moves through school. Blossom (65) notes that so often Indian children make satisfactory progress until they reach the fourth grade, when they seem to stagnate, and she suspects that the explanation lies in the fact that the texts in the first three grades are written in a carefully controlled "talking" vocabulary, while upper grade texts shift to a "comprehension" vocabulary. Others, however, have somewhat different theories to account for this so-called "crossover phenomenon." The language handicap, furthermore, becomes critical for those who go on to college. Salisbury (550) reports that Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts make up 20 per cent of the freshman class at the University of Alaska, but predicts that "over 50 per cent of them are likely to drop out" before the end of theyear, and "less than 2 per cent" will eventually graduate. A major reason, he suspects, is their failure to develop what he calls "a conceptual knowledge of English."

Not all Indians, by any means, learn first to speak an Indian language. The 30,000 Lumbees of North Carolina speak English only, and so do the Chickahominy, Mattapony, and Pamunkey of Virginia, and the Nanticokes of Delaware, to mention only a few. Felber (181), who studied the Indians in the public schools of Sisseton, S.D., found that 88.7 per cent spoke English in the home, and 9.7 per cent spoke both English and Sioux. West (675) reports that among the Indians of Detroit "English is the most commonly spoken language." Bonner (71) states that only rarely does a non-English-speaking child appear at the North Carolina Cherokee schools. In 1942, she says, a man was hired to teach the Cherokee language in the schools, but "so few of the children were interested that the project was abandoned." It is much the same in California. At the recent conference of Indian educators in that state, the factors contributing to the poor academic achievement of Indian children were enumerated (96:7), but the language handicap was not mentioned. Kennedy (333) reports that, among the Pomo, "most children appear to understand the native dialect, but some will not or cannot speak it. It is considered 'smart' by the children to speak English." And Lloyd (374) found that the Chumash had entirely lost their native language. As a matter of fact, Chafe (107) finds that the Indian languages of California have all but disappeared, and that the few who still speak them are mostly over 50 years of age.

However, two important points must be bornein mind. First, even though most Indian children the country over may speak English, and often English only, it is usually a "substandard" variety of English. And, however colorful their substandard language may be, and however adequate for purposes of communication within the group, it is not the standard English of the classroom and of the textbooks. Consequently, such children also labor under a language handicap--serious certainly, but not as serious as the handicap of the non-English-speaking student. And second, even in those Indian communities where English, and English only, is the language, we still find the universal problems of low achievement, high dropout rates, absenteeism, overageness, etc. This strongly suggests that we should look for some more basic cause of these academic shortcomings. Salisbury (549) is not alone in suggesting that the language problem may be a "symptom" rather than a cause of scholastic failure.

One gains the impression from a reading of the literature, that whereas some Indians make no effort to learn English and are determined to preserve their language (e.g., 649), there is an increasing realization of the desirability of acquiring proficiency in English. Kluckhohn and Leighton say of the Navahos (341:145f.):

> The principal conscious educational goal expressed by Navahos today seems to be the ability to use English. They realize that without it they are at a disadvantage, and they have discovered the usefulness of communications and records in writing. At the same time, English is so different from their own language that it is very difficult for Navahos to learn. . . . The children work at it and are much more likely to practice it among themselves--on the playground for example--than are Pueblo pupils.

The need for instruction in English has been stressed by Clarence Wesley, Chairman of the San Carlos Apache Tribe, as follows (672):

> I suspect that failure to comprehend on the part of the Indian children accounts in large measure for the lessening of interest and enthusiasm for school which I am told begins for Indian children along about the fifth grade. . . . I would insist upon the employment of teachers especially trained in the skills of teaching English to non-English-speaking youngsters.

There exists a tremendous literature in the field of linguistic science, and also in the teaching of foreign languages, most of which has a bearing upon the teaching of English to Indians. There is also a large body of literature, which is even more relevant, pertaining to the teaching of English as a second language. The bulk of this latter type of material, however, is directed toward the teaching of English to European immigrants to the United States, and to students from abroad who have come to America for their university training. Some attention, moreover, has been given to the problem of the Spanish-speaking pupils in the public schools. All of this is helpful and suggestive for the teachers of non-English-speaking Indians, but there are certain unique features in the case of the Indian, making it difficult simply to take over and apply the principles and techniques which have proved useful in these related fields.

Weaver (665), for example, points out that "most of the English as a second language programs in national use are constructed with a Spanish-English bias." No problem arises as long as one is dealing with members of the Indo-European family of languages; but Navaho, she points out, is quite different from English with respect to number, possession, gender, pronouns, verb inflection, etc. Both Dozier (227:21ff.) and Evvard (175:10ff.) have indicated the extend to which the sound system of the Indian languages presents peculiar difficulties, and Beer (42) maintains that "one of the most frequent and widespread difficulties that the Indian student has when trying to get a command of English is that of mastering the articles a and the." Brophy and Aberle (81:143) have called attention to the problem the Indian faces in trying to comprehend our tenses, grammar, inflection, and grammatical categories. Young (611:408-414) points to many very subtle differences between English and Navaho, and maintains that "the languages are as different as our two respective societies." The teacher of Indian children, accordingly, encounters all sorts of novel obstacles.

The problem of teaching English has always been a concern of those who have worked among Indians. For many years, however, the approach was blunt and tactless, as exemplified in the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the 1880s:

> To teach Indian school children in their native language is practically to exclude English, and to prevent them from acquiring it. This language, which is good enough for the white man, and the black man, ought to be good enough for the red man. It is also believed that teaching an Indian youth in his own barbarous dialect is a positive detriment to him. The first step to be taken toward civilization, toward teaching the Indian the mischief and folly of continuing in their barbarous practices, is to teach him the English language. . . . If we expect to infuse into the rising generation the leaven of American citizenship, we must remove the stumbling-blocks of hereditary

> customs and manners, and of these language is one of the most important.

There are numerous examples in the literature of the repressive measures taken to root out the Indian languages. For instance, Colson (115) tells how this was done among the Makah, and quotes (p. 19) a principal of the boarding school who used to insist, "The Indian tongue must be put to silence."

A change in attitude developed in the 1930s, described as follows by Robert Young (611:408):

> It has not been many years since the use of the native language was forcibly discouraged in government schools, and native dialects were often held up to ridicule. . . . Under the present administration the native languages have come to be recognized, not as encumbrances and impediments to the progress of the native peoples, but as definite tools to be fitted into the educational program.

During this period the BIA was indeed administered by persons who believed in the creative force of cultural differences, and they made a determined effort to introduce the idea into the federal schools. Measures were taken to include the Indians' cultural traditions in the curriculum, and they even attempted to utilize the Indian languages along with English. Spicer (592) tells how alphabets for writing the Indian languages were made, and how readers were prepared in Sioux, Hopi, Tewa, and Navaho. There were unforseen problems, however. Qualified teachers could not be found, and there was little to read, since there was no body of literature available in the new alphabets. These problems might have been solved, says Spicer, but more serious ones arose. Congress was unwilling to provide funds for teaching except in the English language, and, strangely, Indian parents manifested little sympathy for the idea. And so, says Spicer, "The whole program for using Indian languages in the school folded up." Today, however, we are informed that the Navaho language, along with English, is taught at Rough Rock (433:27).

Even though there is doubtless less intolerance of Indian languages now than formerly, one finds occasional hints that teachers still are not completely sympathetic toward Indian languages. Chance (108:30) states that in Northern Alaska "spoken Eskimo is discouraged, if not forbidden, in the classroom"; and Salisbury (550:5) says, "The student is likely to lose his original language in the education process. His teachers do not speak his language, nor do they encourage its use during school hours."

Reading the literature, one gains the impression that teaching English as a second language is an art which calls for specialized training as well as a high degree of skill, and that few teachers possess these qualifications. Roessel (530:89) deplores the fact that, whereas all 50 states require teachers of foreign languages to have had at least 45 hours of professional course work in the language they are to teach, there is not a single requirement in any state that the "teacher of English as a foreign language have had any prior training or experience." The belief seems to be that if one can speak English one is prepared to teach it. Holm (280) also complains that "Bureau teachers . . . are not trained to teach English as a second language." Bureau teachers, of course, are no different from public school teachers, and it must be remembered that a large majority of Indian children attend public schools, although the non-English-speaking Indian children are more likely to enroll in either BIA or mission schools. One wonders just how extensive, and how serious, the problem is in the public schools.

The result, we are told repeatedly by investigators, is that Indians fail to acquire the desirable proficiency. Holm (280) maintains that Navaho tribal leaders have recently come to appreciate the necessity for adequate English, that Navaho children in BIA schools learn an impressive amount of English their first year in school, but that "it is dissipated in a year or two." Wax (660:80ff.) paints a dismal picture of instruction at Pine Ridge. The teachers, he says, believe they are teaching their pupils to become competent and fluent in English, and the pupils believe they are "learning English," but the fact is that they "develop no fluency and very little understanding." He places a large part of the blame on "the way English is taught in the schools." West (675) reports that Indians in Detroit, despite their years of schooling, speak only "broken English," which causes them to feel alienated and inferior, and prevents their participating more in the life of the city.

No one puts all the blame on the teacher. Wax (660) recognizes that the cause is partly "situational." That is, "the Indian child does not converse or communicate in English either in the home, in play or peer groups, or with other children in school or in the classroom." Holm (280), Blossom (66), and others have complained that too much emphasis is placed upon the necessity of reading English, to the neglect of the more basic skill of speaking. Tireman and Zintz (623) have found a variety of factors, other than simply the teachers, which influence the learning of a second language; but Sasaki and Olmsted (554), who studied the Navahos in Fruitland, N. M., concluded that "it is the Navaho with the longest attendance at school who have the greatest proficiency in English."

At least for the past 30 years there has been an increasing interest in applying the principles of linguistic science and the aural-oral approach to the teaching of English to Indian students. In 1936 the BIA launched its publication, Indian Education, and periodically articles appeared explaining the modern scientific methods of language instruction. Many of these articles were included in the volumes by Beatty (38;39) and the volume by Thompson (611). The fact that an awareness of the problem was aroused, and attention drawn to improvement of pedagogical techniques, is manifested by the appearance of several theses written by experienced teachers in the Indian schools. As early as 1937 Burgess (92) experimented with the use of the Basic English Word List in teaching Hopi, Arapaho, and Navaho students. Provance (502) and Jackson (308) reported on their experiences in teaching English to Alaskan natives. The Navahos were studied by Doerfert (151), who experimented with the use of pictures as a technique, and by Farmer (177), who drew upon her experience and her knowledge of the Indian language to identify a variety of problems which confront the teacher of English.

Most of these writings represent, not basic research, but rather applications of the principles and techniques developed by students of foreign language teaching. Among the sources frequently cited are Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language, by C. C. Fries, Teaching English as a Second Language, by Mary Finocchiaro, and Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach, by Robert Lado.

The general impression one gains from a reading of the literature is that there is a growing appreciation on the part of Indian leaders that a command of the English language is essential, that Indian children are not at the present time acquiring the skill needed and desired, that there are a number of factors responsible for this failure, and that a part of the fault, perhaps a major part, lies in the fact that teachers are not properly trained in effective techniques of second-language instruction. The most feasible point at which to attack the language barrier would seem to be with the training of teachers. This was demonstrated by an experiment conducted by Condie (117) in seven rural schools in New Mexico. The control groups were taught by the traditional methods improvised by the teachers. The experimental groups were taught by teachers who were instructed in workshops at the University of New Mexico, where they learned certain techniques and were provided various aids such as filmstrips, tape recorders, games, phonograph records, picture libraries, etc. Under the conditions introduced, significant results were accomplished. Holm (280) puts the matter concisely as follows:

> It is here, with spoken English, that we must begin--for all else depends upon this. Spoken English is that without which there can be no further education. The efforts of individual teachers and schools are inadequate. Only comprehensive programs of materials-development and teacher training, vigorously undertaken, can begin to answer the needs of these times.

G. THE SCHOOLS

There are many who place the blame for the Indian child's academic failures upon the schools themselves, rather than upon parents, the children, the teachers, the community, or the cultural barriers. Wolcott (692) who has given us an excellent monograph on education in a Kwakiutl village, states that he embarked upon his research hoping to discover why Indian pupils fail so badly in school, but, after living and working in the community, he began to pose a different question, How do the schools fail their Indian pupils? While it is not a popular theme in the literature, certain investigators, notably Meriam (427) and the Waxes (660), have been severely critical of the schools themselves. What is wrong with them? Are the physical facilities inadequate? Is the curriculum unsuitable? Is the school's program at fault? Is the social environment not conducive to learning?

If the Indian suffers from inadequate physical facilities, this is not apparent in the literature. Such was not always the case, however. Until very recently financial support for Indian education was extremely meager, and only the barest necessities were provided (6:passim). The Navahos, largest of all the Indian tribes, were sadly neglected for many years. Kelly (329:171ff.) points out that the government, despite promises made in its treaty, "evidenced little interest in Navaho education, and as late as the 1920s there were loud complaints about "congressional reluctance to build the necessary schools." Johnston (318:46ff.), too, describes the "years of almost complete neglect and inactivity in the field of Navaho education," but makes the encouraging report that "since 1954 the gap between Navaho educational facilities and those available to the general population of the United States has been narrowed considerably."

Numerous criticisms have been made of the boarding schools which dominated the educational philosophy of the BIA in the latter decades of the nineteenth and the first 30 years of the present century. Philleo Nash (23:6) labels this a "lamentable period," and describes the schools with their "cast-off army clothing; the harsh discipline; the military drill; the self-support from farm and herd; the purposeful separation from home and family." The Meriam report (427:392ff.) is even more critical, with its denunciation of "deplorable health conditions . . . old buildings . . . bad fire risks . . . crowded dormitories . . . sanitation below accepted standards . . . machinery out-of-date and in some instances unsafe . . . malnutrition due to lack of food and use of wrong foods . . . lack of recreational opportunities . . . lack of beauty . . . and schoolrooms seldom showing knowledge of modern principles of lighting and ventilating." The report also (p.421) goes on to criticize the day schools as "below the standards of modern public schools . . . buildings unattractive and unsuited to present-day educational needs." Following the Meriam report serious efforts were made to correct the situation, so that Adams (6), writing in the 1940s, was able to report "extraordinary improvements" and "great and favorable changes."

One does not get the impression from reading the recent literature that Indians generally are the victims of discrimination insofar as the physical, tangible accouterments of education are concerned. Even the most critical and observant students fail to mention this as a factor in the Indian's poor academic achievement. On the contrary, one reads of the adequate and modern physical facilities available. Benham (44) studied 86 public school systems in five western states, where substantial numbers of Indian students are in attendance, and he found them generally satisfactory with respect to physical factors, audio-visual aids, classroom environment, etc. In certain other respects, however, he found them deficient. Farmer (177), who taught for a time in the Navaho schools, reported in 1964 that "physical plants are in the main very adequate . . . rooms well lighted and clean . . . plenty of materials of all kinds with which to work." Hopkins (283) writes of the Tongue River Reservation, "The school building . . . with its large gymnasium . . . is everything a teacher could desire." Finally, the Coleman report (114) indicates that Indian pupils fare very well indeed when it comes to laboratories, auditoriums, free textbooks, libraries, shops with power tools, etc.

No doubt there are Indian communities in which the school facilities are still inferior and inadequate. Tolbert (625) paints a bleak picture of the Mississippi Choctaws. Morgan (438) reported in 1940 that the Lumbee schools in North Carolina were much inferior to those of the whites, and a decade later Beckwith (41) and Thompson (618) still found much to be desired. Beckwith described the majority of the Indian schools as "overcrowded and inadequately equipped . . . badly in need of paint . . . minimum amount of furniture . . . no library . . . no auditorium . . . no lunch room . . . lighting inadequate . . . desks scarred and battered." Many of the marginal Indian groups, according to Berry (55) were still without adequate educational facilities as late as 1960. And Ray (513:175), writing in 1959, says: "A secondary school education is not commonly attained by Alaskan native youths. Lack of high school facilities is undoubtedly one of the major causes for this fact." These, however, would seem to be the exceptions. For the most part there are few complaints about the physical facilities for education which are available to Indians.

The curriculum, however, is another matter, and has been a perennial source of controversy. Mention has been made above, in Chapter II, of the fact that the early Jesuit missionary-teachers sought to introduce a strictly academic curriculum, while the Franciscans chose to teach agriculture and animal husbandry, tailoring, spinning, weaving, shoemaking, carpentry, as well as reading, writing, singing, and the playing of musical instruments. And both orders, of course, placed great emphasis upon the teaching of religion and morals.

The English colonists, too, were not of one mind regarding the kinds of knowledge most likely to lead the Indians into civilization. John Eliot taught his Indians to read and write, but he also introduced them to various arts and crafts, for it was his conviction that Christianizing the Indians meant converting them to English habits and customs, living in English houses divided into rooms, wearing English clothing, earning their living in the English manner, and, hopefully, speaking the English language (688). At the same time, those Indians who attended William and Mary, Harvard, Dartmouth, and Princeton studied the same subjects that white students did, including Latin and Greek. This prompted George Washington to write:

> I am fully of the opinion that the mode of education which has hitherto been pursued with respect to these young Indians who have been sent to our colleges is not such as can be productive of any good to their nations. Reason might have shown it, and experience clearly proves it to be the case. It is perhaps productive of evil. Humanity and good policy must make it the wish of every good citizen of the United States that husbandry, and consequently civilization, should be introduced among the Indians (361:109).

Thomas Jefferson was of a like mind.

Disagreement as to the kind of education appropriate for Indians continued through the nineteenth century. According to Adams (6) there flourished during this period "the manual labor school," where "letters, labor and mechanic arts, and morals and Christianity" made up the curriculum. Some of the schools were opposed to academic training, though none excluded it. The Choctaw Academy was such an institution. At the same time, the mission school continued to function, offering religious and academic instruction, and requiring all students to perform some kind of labor, though not as a part of the curriculum. The missionaries were often criticized for not including practical training in the course of study. They were also criticized for using the native dialect in their schools, rather than English.

After the Civil War the government became involved more in Indian education, appropriating larger sums of money, and inaugurating the era of the boarding school, beginning with Carlisle in 1879. This new type of institution came to be known as a training school, and the term manual labor school ceased to be used. Carlisle was never more than an elementary school, offering courses in agriculture, mechanics, and nursing. Students performed all the institutional work. Half of their day was spend in industrial training and in working on the school's farm, which was an integral part of the operation.

The Carlisle philosophy was adopted elsewhere, and flourished well into the present century. Says Adams (6:56), "A sincere effort was made to develop the type of school that would destroy tribal ways and train the individual Indian to earn his living like a white man." The

Meriam report (427) bitterly condemned the boarding schools and their vocational education program. It should be noted, however, that there were critics of the system long before Meriam, including BIA Commissioners Thomas J. Morgan (1889-1893) and Francis E. Leupp (1904-1909). It was the Meriam report, however, which produced results. This report dealt rather generously with the academic curriculum in the Indian schools (pp.370-374). It commended the BIA for having given thought to its objectives and for having adopted a course of study. It approved the formal statements regarding health education, vocational guidance, etc. However, it also warned about allowing a course of study to remain static, deplored the fact that many of the commendable objectives had not been put into practice, and was especially critical of the guidance program. "Vocational guidance is frequently stressed, but scarcely anybody in the Indian Service has any real conception of what guidance means." The report, moreover, was highly critical of the vocational programs of the boarding schools (pp.382-392), saying, "Very little of the work provided in Indian boarding schools is directly vocational. . . . Agriculture is rarely taught in terms of what the Indian boy will need when he gets out. . . . Vocational guidance needs are stressed . . . but this so far has been exceedingly unfortunate."

One gains the impression from examining the literature that the trend has been away from emphasizing vocational training for Indians, except in schools such as Haskell and Chilocco, and as a post-secondary program, and toward the adoption of the curriculum followed in the public schools.

The various disciplines and subject-matter fields have their proponents, and their critics. Sims (573), a teacher of four years' experience, maintains that the industrial arts (carpentry, mechanical drawing, leathercraft, silversmithing, etc.) are highly effective in reaching Indian students whose command of English is limited, for, not only is the skill they acquire of practical use to them, but they discover that they can achieve and succeed in an academic environment, and this contributes to their personality development. Bulman (91) and Harrington (243) find that art is a most effective medium for attaining similar objectives. Many investigators have reported on the importance of athletic programs for Indian students (e.g., 71, 429, 662). Guidance and counseling have long been advocated as essential for the academic development of Indian students, and it is apparent that progress has been made since the Meriam report delivered its devastating criticisms; but it is also apparent that such programs are still in need of much improvement (44, 272, 307, 459, 464, 481, 483, 588).

For a generation now many have been saying that it is one of the goals of Indian education to cultivate in young Indians pride in their history, traditions, and culture. Lane (353) insists that one of the aims of government policy is "selective preservation of Indian culture," and Jackson (307) finds that one of the unique features of Indian schools is their objective of developing "appreciation for the heritage of, and promotion of the culture of, American Indians." At Rough Rock, to be sure, conscious and deliberate steps are taken to do just that (118, 205, 533), and no doubt efforts in that direction are made at other federal schools. One searches the literature in vain, however, for reports of programs in the public schools, where Indians are in attendance, designed to resolve their identity problems and to develop pride in their heritage. And, if the report of the Waxes (660) is typical of the federal schools, there is no evidence of an effective program there. When Indian leaders and educators have spoken, they seem invariably to deplore the fact that the schools have paid little or no attention to Indian history and traditions (e.g., 96:7;264).

Discussions of the curriculum for Indian students do not loom large in the literature. The problem seems not to have attracted the attention of researchers--at least not to the extent to which they have been drawn to certain other problems of Indian education. The Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian is not without good reason in declaring (81:146):

> There are no safe criteria or standards on which to base judgments of the curriculum most helpful in assisting Indian pupils to adjust to the dominant culture. The B.I.A. educational policy has . . . followed the educational practices of the Anglo culture. Hence, there is no body of data based on research and specifically compiled for Indian classrooms. . . . This lack of research on which to assess the Indian's potential or to elucidate his singular needs makes it difficult to evolve plans for his education.

Even more serious than the curriculum as an obstacle to the Indian child's academic success is the social atmosphere of the school. A number of investigators have testified to the fact that many Indian parents are reluctant to visit the school, or to participate in any of its functions, and that communication between them and the school staff is minimal. According to Wax (660:88), "The Indian parent initially brings her child to the awesome school campus, but she rarely ventures to return and penetrate the door to the classroom." This unfortunate situation is not peculiar to Pine Ridge, for similar descriptions are common throughout the literature (cf., e.g., 45, 96, 269, 422, 476, 692).

For the Indian pupil, too, the school often presents an alien or terrifying environment in which to function. The most complete study of the social environment of the school is that of Wax, Wax, and Dumont (660). Among the various aspects of that environment which they describe is the crucial role of the peer group. No doubt one's peers are important in all groups, and especially so in youth groups; but they seem to exert an inordinate degree of pressure with Indian youngsters, and the Wax monograph describes numerous functions which peer groups assume and which, in other societies, they would not perform or would share with others. Miller and Caulkins (429) say of the Minnesota Chippewas, "Peer groups seem to be the most potent means of social control over the behavior of students," and numerous other investigators have reported similar observations.

Much is said in the literature about the "shyness" of the Indian pupil, his reluctance to participate in class activities, his refusal to recite, etc. Miller and Caulkins (429) write of the Chippewas, "In class the students are very reserved. Not one volunteers to recite; and, when called upon, the typical student studies the desk top intently. Most students have to be coaxed to say even a few words." Provance (502), writing of Alaskan native students, notes that they are "unwilling to participate in discussions," and that, when they are called upon to recite, they will "mumble an inaudible reply." The Waxes (660) found the children in the early elementary grades "attentive, busy and happy," while those in the upper grades were "shy, withdrawn, and sullen," and in some classrooms they found their "shyness transformed into terror and their sullenness into insolence and cruelty."

Studies of the social environment of the school and the classroom are not numerous, but there are casual references throughout the literature suggesting that the Indian child encounters formidable obstances to learning. King (336) found the atmosphere of the boarding school where he taught "mechanistic and authoritarian"; Parmee

(476) reports that Apache students, upon transferring to public schools, "quickly found security in their Apache cliques" when they discovered that their appearances, interests and overt mannerisms set them apart from their Anglo classmates; and many report that the shabby clothing and other evidences of poverty cause them to feel out of place. One gains the impression from much of the literature that the classrooms in which Indian pupils find themselves are not conducive to their feeling of security and acceptance nor to their scholastic achievement.

It must be borne in mind that the great majority of Indian students now attend public schools. Statistics issued annually by the BIA indicate that more than 60 per cent are enrolled in public schools, some 30 per cent in federal schools, and about 6 per cent in mission schools. These figures, however, striking as they may be, do not reveal the actual situation. In 1961 the BIA dropped from its school census those Indians in the states of California, Idaho, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon (except Warm Springs), Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin. Nor has the BIA ever included such groups as the Nanticokes of Delaware, the Lumbees of North Carolina, and the Chickahominy and others in Virginia. Thus, there are tens of thousands of persons who report themselves to the U.S. Census as Indians, all of whose children attend the public schools. The problems of Indian education, accordingly, are passing from the federal government to the states and the public schools, where the major part of the responsibility already rests.

H. THE INDIAN'S SELF-CONCEPT

According to one of the popular stereotypes, the American Indian is proud, strong, courageous, independent, stoical, and self-sufficient. There is often a small degree of validity in racial stereotypes, and this is true in the case of the Indian. The Spindlers (594), after combing the psychologically oriented studies and autobiographies, concluded that there were certain features widely distributed among North American Indians, including a positive valuation of bravery and courage, reserve and self-control, ability to endure pain, and a sort of fatalistic dependence upon supernatural power.

Many of the studies included in this survey, however, point to the presence of still other personality traits, and these have a direct bearing upon education. Terms often used to describe the modern Indian's attitudes and feelings are alienation, hopelessness, powerlessness, rejection, depression, anxiety, estrangement, and frustration. Tefft (606) found among Arapaho youth "despair and disillusionment with their social environment," Kennedy (333) said the Pomo "appear to be ashamed of themselves," and Bryde (89) reported that the Sioux "revealed themselves as feeling more rejected, depressed, withdrawn, paranoid, as well as more socially, emotionally, and self-alienated" than whites. Ablon (1) speaks of the prevailing attitudes of "suspicion and fear of rejection" which Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area feel for the white community, and West (675), himself an Indian, notes that "even long residence in Detroit fails to dispel the sense of inferiority." The Spindlers (594) maintain that the personality type which they call "reaffirmative native" is "ambivalent about whites and white culture . . . and has doubts about his personal adequacy"; and Voget (644) describes that faction of the Iroquois which he calls "native modified" as alienated from the dominant culture and making "no attempt to identify" with either Canadian or American society. Most recently, the Coleman study (114) discovered that Indian students "have far less conviction than whites that they can affect their own environments and futures." Much research needs to be done on the Indian's self-concept, but there is evidence that the problem of identity is uppermost, and that he is plagued with feelings of alienation, anxiety, and inadequacy.

Several investigators have suggested that this negative self-concept is a factor--even the major one--in the Indian child's academic failure. Hobart (273) enumerates four causes for the underachievement of minority youngsters, and one of these is "damaged self-concept." In a brilliant paper, which unfortunately has not been published, Saslow and Harrover (555) argue cogently that "self-image, industry, self-control, etc., important variables in academic achievement, are often lacking in Indians." Certainly one of the most provocative findings of the Coleman study (114) is the evidence it offers for the close relationship between the achievement of the disadvantaged child and the ways he feels about himself and his future. The report states, "A pupil attitude factor, which appears to have a stronger relationship to achievement than do all 'school' factors together, is the extent to which an individual feels that he has control over his own destiny." Finally, Johntz (668:577) states the proposition unequivocally, "The primary causal factor in the low achievement of culturally deprived children is the low, negative image they have of themselves."

Indian leaders have been sensitive to the problem and have expressed similar opinions. Nelson Jose (322), Governor of the Gila River Pima-Maricopa Tribes, discusses a variety of educational problems, and concludes, "Perhaps one of the greatest needs of Indian people is a feeling of pride." At a conference of Indian educators held recently in California, it was reported (96):

> Delegates felt that a large part of school achievement is based on the "self-image" of a child and that this can be damaged or destroyed by classmates and teachers who are ignorant or scornful of Indian culture values and contributions.

It is possible, of course, that poor academic achievement is the cause, rather than the result, of a negative self-image. Or, quite possibly, the relationship is circular, and the two reinforce each other. Chance (108) suspects that the Eskimo's self-image is deflated by the school, where he learns how relatively unimportant Eskimos have been in world affairs, where he is discouraged from using his own language, and where he is criticized for lack of cleanliness, poor work habits, etc.

However, the evidence does indicate that a student's conception of himself andhis abilities is a major factor in achievement, and this puts the entire problem of Indian education in a new light. What causes the child to feel that he is of little worth, and that there is nothing he can do to better himself? How can a positive self-concept be developed? How can pride and self-confidence be nurtured? These are questions which are calling for answers, and toward which research might profitably be directed.

One develops his self-concept through his interactions with others, primarily family and peers, and through their evaluation of him, or his estimate of such evaluation. In the last analysis, however, his self-concept will reflect the attitudes and opinions of the dominant non-Indian majority with which he interacts either directly or indirectly. Accordingly, what the white man thinks of the Indian, and how he treats him, are reflected in the Indian's image of himself. Some have insisted that, if the Indian comes to think of himself as alienated and inferior, he is merely making a realistic appraisal of the actual situation. However, the literature fails to give a clear picture of the Indian's status in society, of the white man's attitudes toward him, and of the degree of prejudice and discrimination to which he is subjected. It is surprising that so little research has been done in this area, inasmuch as social scientists have devoted so much of their effort to the measurement of prejudice and discrimination toward other minorities, particularly Jews and Negroes. While no thorough and systematic studies are available on the social status of the Indian, the literature does offer a few intimations.

It is apparent from the literature that the degree of prejudice and discrimination directed toward Indians varies from place to place, but is present everywhere. It is least oppressive in the larger metropolitan centers. Ablon (1) says that "Indians in the Bay Area usually will be accepted wherever they choose to go"; in Milwaukee, according to Ritzenthaler (525), "discrimination is so rare as to be an unimportant problem"; and for Detroit, West (675) reports that "the chief obstacle to the Indian's adjustment appears to be the background of the Indian himself, rather than the white man's failure to accept him."

Elsewhere we have reports of a minimum of prejudice and discrimination. Bonner (71) found that the North Carolina Cherokees are relatively well accepted in that state--so well, in fact, that Indians who come there from Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana find the social climate very appealing. One can believe that such is the case after reading Tolbert's (625) report on the Mississippi Choctaws, who are the objects of considerable antipathy. Tefft (606) gives the impression that the Shoshone of Wyoming are rather well accepted and regarded by their white neighbors, although Rist (524) draws a somewhat different picture. Relations between the Makah and the whites, according to Colson (115), are very friendly. There is some discrimination, but it is seldom verbalized, and "there is much intermarriage, which is not severely condemned by either race." The lines are more sharply drawn between Sioux and whites in and around Morton, Minnesota, according to Hassinger (246), but contacts are numerous and animosity appears to be minimal.

In most places, however, where whites and Indians are in contact the relations are far less cordial, if one can rely upon the literature included in this survey. Hurt (301) draws a picture of the Indians of Yankton, saying that "many employers are reluctant to hire members of his race," and that "the Indian is generally excluded from the social and political activities of the community." Anderson (15), after studying two communities in the Southwest, concluded, "There is an almost unanimous feeling that Indian children are less capable of achieving desirable goals and ultimately becoming productive members of society than are their Anglo contemporaries," and "this feeling of inferiority appears to be internalized by the minority." Robin (528) found that the whites of Ukiah, California, regard the Pomo as "lazy, shiftless, dirty, biologically and culturally inferior," and Kennedy (333) corroborates those findings. The story is much the same all over the country--whites who are in close contact with Indians think of them as biologically, morally, and culturally inferior. This generalization is borne out by Braroe's (78) study of the Plains Cree, Roper's (537) study of the Wisconsin Chippewas, Lloyd (374) on the Chumash, Vassar (642) on the Paiutes, Byrd (95) and Hoyt (293) on the Sac and Fox, Lee (363) on the Sioux, Trent (629) and Wood (695) on the Minnesota Chippewas, and many others. This negative image of the modern Indian is also revealed in Knoll's (344) nationwide survey of employers' attitudes toward the hiring of Indians. He found that employers' prejudices do indeed incline them to discriminate against the hiring of Indians; the Indians know this, and consider it futile to train and equip themselves for skilled jobs.

Most Americans, of course, have no contact with Indians, and the stereotype of the "Noble Red Man" is widely held. But in those communities where the two races are in contact, the whites have quite a different image, and one that is by no means flattering.

If it is true that a negative self-concept is an important fact in the underachievement of Indian students, and that this negative self-concept is ultimately the reflection of the image of the Indian which the dominant white society holds, what can be done to change the situation? Two approaches are indicated in the literature: (1) encourage the Indian to develop a better image of himself, and (2) promote among the whites more understanding and appreciation of the Indian, in the hope that their image of the Indian might be improved.

One reads constantly about the necessity of helping the Indian to develop greater pride in himself and his traditions. The Report of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian (81) begins with a recognition of the necessity of "restoring his pride of origin and faith in himself." But if the schools are doing anything to achieve those objectives, it does not show up in the literature. At Rough Rock, to be sure, we are told (533) that provisions are made in the curriculum to "enable our Navaho students to establish a pride in their own culture and heritage"; and at the Institute of American Indian Arts, at Santa Fe, the major emphasis is "to acquaint the young Indian students with an appreciation of their own traditions" (450). Fr. John F. Bryde did incorporate in the curriculum of Holy Rosary School, at Pine Ridge, a course designed to acquaint Indian children with their history and culture, and to prepare them for the inevitable culture conflict which they would encounter. Perhaps there are other programs focussed upon the development of a healthy self-concept on the part of Indian youths, but they have not come to light in this survey of the literature. A large majority of school-age Indians, of course, are enrolled in public schools, and there is no evidence that the public schools have instituted programs or courses designed to foster pride in Indianness. And if the Wax (660) study gives an accurate picture of the federal schools, there is apparently no effective program there. It is significant that at the conference of Indian educators in California (96), recommendations were made to the effect that the schools should "show respect for the Indian language and heritage."

But if the schools have been remiss in helping the Indian to develop a better self-image, the Indians themselves have not remained idle. A recent book by Steiner (601), despite its shortcomings, testifies to the extent of a movement among Indians toward cohesion and group pride; and Officer (458) has enumerated many instances of cooperation and unity among the various once-hostile tribes. Several scholars have studied the emerging phenomenon of Pan-Indianism, and, while they disagree as to its nature and significance, they bear witness to its vitality. Some see Pan-Indianism as "the final stage . . . just prior to complete assimilation," some as a "defense maneuver . . . a way of responding to white dominance," and some as "a mechanism of socio-cultural survival" (cf., e.g., 1, 289, 451, 646, 310, 470). But whatever the occasion for its appearance, it nevertheless testifies to the determination of Indians to remain Indian and to take pride in that fact.

There are those who maintain that the Indian's image of himself depends, in the last analysis, upon the image held by the dominant white society. This is apparent even in the Pan-Indian Movement, according to Oswalt (470:516). Pan-Indianism is a synthesis of elements which are considered Indian, and the white man's stereotype of the Indian exerts a strong influence upon the selection of those elements. For example, the Plains headdress of eagle feathers has become a symbol for all Indians regardless of their tribal origin. Thus, Indians come to see themselves through the eyes of the whites. Accordingly, it has been maintained that, if the Indian is to improve his self-image, the proper place to begin the transformation is with the white society. The problem is one of educating the whites, of supplanting his ignorance and his antiquated stereotypes with more knowledge and understanding of the Indian as he really is.

The phenomenon known popularly, but somewhat inaccurately, as "race prejudice" is universal, and theories purporting to account for it are legion (56). Moreover, little is known about how to combat it, nor as to the effectiveness of the various devices currently employed. The literature on the causes and treatment of anti-Semitism and anti-Negro prejudice is voluminous, and great effort and huge sums of money have been devoted to their eradication. At the same time, very little research seems to have been done on prejudice and discrimination against Indians, and few attempts have been made to counteract them. The stereotype of the Indian has been studied by Agogino (9), Brizee (80), and Zeligs (698); and Malan (390) has explored the relationship between certain background factors (authoritarianism, economic status, etc.) and prejudice against Indians. There are many ideas as to the cause of prejudice (social, psychological, economic, etc.), and the techniques one uses to counteract it depend upon the theory from which one operates. Educators are convinced that prejudice is, at least partly, a function of ignorance, and there is evidence to support them. Malan (390), for example, found that "as education increased, ethnic distance decreased." Accordingly, we do find references to a few experiments in the schools directed toward the development of more favorable attitudes toward Indians. For instance, Fisher (188) reports that fifth graders in a Berkeley, California, public school gained a more favorable attitude toward Indians simply by reading certain selected materials, but reading plus discussion resulted in a very significant change. Jurrens (324) found that a study of the music of the Sioux produced more favorable attitudes on the part of white elementary children. Vogel (643) has examined a hundred history textbooks in current use, and finds that "historians have used four principal methods to create or perpetuate false impressions of aboriginal Americans, namely, _obliteration_, _defamation_, _disembodiment_, and _disparagement_." He concludes that we should "begin to reorient our teaching about the Indians."

There is much evidence to prove that prejudice yields to education, and, while the schools alone are not equal to the task of changing the white man's concept of the Indian, they are in a position to make significant contributions to that end.

V. THE INDIAN COLLEGE STUDENT

Despite the obstacles which Indian students encounter in their elementary and secondary school experience, more of them are going on to college now than ever before. Today there are at least 4,000 Indian college students in the United States (414:2). This number represents a marked increase over previous years. Havinghurst (252:114) notes, for instance, that, in 1936, 1 out of 50 high school graduates went to college, while in 1950, of the 597 graduates of federal high schools, 1 in 6 entered college. A similar trend is reported for the Navahos, largest of the Indian tribes (449:63; 318:52).

While enrollments of Indian college students are increasing, the percentage of American Indians who go to college is low when compared with that of non-Indians. As of January 1961, 2 per cent of the national population was enrolled in college, whereas the percentage of the Indian population was only 1/2 of 1 per cent (453:1). Thus, while Indians are increasingly seeking higher education, they are not doing so at the same rate as other Americans. Whatever the reasons might be for this discrepancy, lack of interest in higher education is not the explanation. Hamblin (235) administered a questionnaire to Apache and Navaho high school seniors and found that a large majority, 91.1 per cent in fact, desired higher education. Adams (7) reported similar findings at the Union High School, Roosevelt, Utah. The American Indian, then, like other Americans, has a desire for higher education. He differs, however, from non-Indian college students in a number of respects.

A profile of the Indian college student reveals that he is somewhat older than his fellow students, he is more likely to be male than female, is usually unmarried, and his pre-college educational experiences have usually included a greater variety of schools and more frequent change in schools attended (20, 414). Furthermore, the Indian college student is likely to have been born and reared on a reservation, to have parents whose educational level is lower than that of non-Indians, and is more likely to have older siblings but less likely than non-Indians to have older siblings who have graduated from college. As for academic background, the Indian is more likely to have attended a smaller school than the non-Indian, to have received less individual counseling, and to have completed fewer units in mathematics and more units in vocational subjects. He also, according to McGrath (414), has participated less in extra-curricular activities and received fewer awards.

While there is no clear evidence as to the type of college the Indian student gravitates toward, impressionistic evidence suggests that the type of college varies from one region of the country to another. McGrath (414: 147) found that, in the Southwest, Indian students are disposed to attend the large state universities. Arizona State University, the University of New Mexico, and Ft. Lewis A. and M. College had the largest enrollments. Of all students identified in this study, 76 per cent were enrolled in seven institutions: the University of Utah, Brigham Young University, Ft. Lewis A. and M. College, the University of New Mexico, the University of Arizona, Arizona State College, and Arizona State University. The inclusion of Ft. Lewis with these larger institutions may be explained by the fact that tuition is free for Indians at that college.

While attendance at state universities seems to be the pattern in the Southwest, such is not the case in other parts of the country. While the data are sketchy, two studies indicate that, in South Dakota, Indians tend to choose the smaller teachers colleges. Ludeman (378), for example, did a study of the Southern State Teachers College, in South Dakota, and found that 112 Indian students had attended during the preceding 33 years. Artichoker and Palmer (20), while they do not present actual data on the numbers enrolled at the various colleges they studied, give the impression that most Indians in South Dakota tend to go to the teachers colleges. What the pattern is in other parts of the country we are unable to say.

More is known about the programs preferred by Indian college students. Artichoker and Palmer (20), in their study of 72 South Dakota Indian students, found that education, engineering, and trade courses accounted for nearly half of the majors. Other than these three, there was no particular area which attracted more than three students. McGrath (414:194) found a similar pattern among 400 Indian students in the Southwest. Education, once again, topped the list of majors, followed by business and engineering. Very few chose social work, anthropology, social sciences, art, or humanities. Apparently Indian students see teaching, engineering or a trade, and business as their main occupational goals. This is surprising, since some studies of vocational interest indicate that their choices might be otherwise.

Abrahams (3), for instance, administered the Kuder Preference Test to a selected group of Southwest Indian college students and found that they scored highest in areas of social service, artistic and clerical interests, and lowest in mechanical and outdoor interests. Ross and Ross (541), in a study of the vocational choices of Apaches, also reached some surprising conclusions. They administered aptitude and vocational interest tests, including the Kuder Preference Test, to 143 Apaches, and found in terms of interest patterns a strong bent toward clerical, outdoor mechanical activities, and artistic pursuits. These Indians showed the least amount of interest in social-persuasive activities, especially social welfare, and in literary and scientific interests. There is a discrepancy, then, between findings on vocational interest, and also a discrepancy between vocational interests and vocational choices. More studies are needed to determine the vocational interests, preferences, and aptitudes of American Indians, and then to show the relationship of these to areas of study selected in college. Presumably, if Indians choose areas of least interest as their major subjects, they will do more poorly in college than they might otherwise. Conceivably, this discrepancy might help explain the low achievement of Indian college students.

There is a wide variety of programs established for the Indian college student. Nix (453) has described the programs developed by Arizona Indian groups to promote higher education. McGrath (414) also offers a good review of programs to help Indian students.

Nix found, in his study of 13 Arizona Indian groups, that 9 of the 13 provided financial assistance to tribal members who attend college. Types of assistance included scholarships, educational loans, employment during vacation periods, and assistance in finding employment after graduation. They also assist college students in other than financial ways. Eight of the 13 groups studied have educational committees which function in various ways to promote education within the tribe. Committee members in six of the tribes regularly visit the colleges and universities to give encouragement to Indian students and to confer with school officials. Among the other programs engaged in are award ceremonies to honor outstanding students, conferences on problems of Indian education, and solicitation of funds to aid Indian students.

McGrath, in a more comprehensive study of programs for Indian college students, found, as did Nix, that there has been a steady increase in the number of scholarships available and in the total amount expended. Most of the money for scholarships, furthermore, comes from the tribes themselves. Fourteen of the 37 southwestern tribes studied made a practice of awarding scholarships. McGrath also reports that 23 tribes do not provide scholarships. Lack of funds, however, rather than lack of interest is the reason, for these 23 are smaller in size and poorer in resources.

While some tribes, then, do not provide scholarships, there are many other sources of financial aid open to, and used by, Indian college students. McGrath (pp. 32-89) provides an extensive list of these sources. He reports a considerable increase in funds from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1932, for instance, the BIA dispensed $10,000 for higher education, while in 1963 they administered $650,000. Various other sources are also reviewed in the McGrath study, and it is pointed out that scholarships from these sources are steadily increasing in number and amount. One gains the impression that Indians in the Southwest have available sizeable amounts of financial aid for those who attend college. What the situation is in other parts of the country cannot be reported with as much certitude, but indications are that similar patterns prevail.

There are also other programs designed to help the Indian college student. McGrath surveyed 52 institutions of higher learning in the Southwest to determine the extent of course offerings in Indian education, research in Indian education, and special services to Indians and Indian college students. He found that only a few institutions attempt to identify Indian students or to supply special programs or services for them. He found that only four offer orientation programs for high school graduates prior to their entering college, and only 9 of the 52 institutions surveyed provide special guidance and counseling services to Indians. Where such guidance and counseling are provided, they usually take the form of a special advisor to Indian students, although 3 institutions grant released time to regular faculty members to perform this service. Four colleges have a tutoring service for Indian students, with the University of New Mexico having the most extensive program of this sort.

The most prevalent service for Indian students is the formation and maintenance of an Indian Club. Ten of the 52 institutions reported having such organizations.

While relatively few institutions, then, provide special services for Indians, it should be noted that the great majority of Indian students in the Southwest are enrolled in 7 institutions, and it is these institutions which provide most of the services mentioned above. Outside the Southwest, we do have the report of Salisbury (550) on an orientation program for Alaskan natives at the University of Alaska.

Despite the financial and other aids provided to Indian college students, however, the literature indicates that they are usually unsuccessful in their efforts to complete a college education. Several studies report a high dropout rate, and a few (366, 414, 508, 550) attack the problem of the reasons therefor.

There are a number of dimensions according to which college students might be measured as to success or failure. These include social adjustment, personal adjustment, and academic adjustment. Academic adjustment is usually measured in terms of grade point averages and completion of the college program. While few studies make adequate comparisons between Indians and non-Indians, the evidence suggests that Indians do poorly on both of these measures. They have higher dropout rates and they receive lower grades.

Zintz (708:116), for example, studying the records of 100 Indians enrolled at the University of New Mexico between 1954 and 1958, found that 70 per cent dropped out with low grades, 20 per cent were enrolled at the time of his study, and only 10 per cent had received degrees. The attrition rate for Indians was compared with the overall attrition rate of 49 per cent for college freshmen at the University of New Mexico. Moreover, of the 30 per cent who remained in the university, or received degrees, the majority were at one time placed on probation. Zintz (708:117) also studied the records of 31 Indian students enrolled at the University of New Mexico in the fall of 1958, and found that 84 per cent of these failed to finish the first semester with an average grade of "C" or better.

Ludeman reports similar findings (378). He examined the records of Indian students enrolled at Southern State Teachers College, South Dakota, from 1925 to 1958, 112 cases in all, and found that 36 attended one quarter or less, and nearly half the total number attended one full school year or less. Salisbury (550:7) reports that experience shows that at the University of Alaska more than "50 per cent of them are likely to drop out at the end of their freshman year and less than 2 per cent of them are likely to receive the baccalaureate degree at the end of four years."

The McGrath study (414) testifies further to the same disturbing fact. He found that, in the institutions of higher learning in four southwestern states, between September 1958 and February 1962, there were 416 Indians enrolled and 237 dropped out. This study, and others dealing with Indians in the same region (366, 508), while not furnishing percentages of academic failures and dropouts, clearly indicate the extent of the problems faced by the Indian college student.

It should be noted, however, that while the dropout rate is high for Indian students, it is also high for the non-Indian. Emma W. Bragg reported in the Journal of Educational Psychology for April, 1956, that nearly 58 per cent of the freshmen, who entered a city college in the Midwest in 1952, withdrew within two years. A similar finding, at another institution in the Midwest, was reported by Fults and Taylor in the National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin for October, 1959. More comprehensive is Robert E. Iffert's Retention and Withdrawal of College Students, a study of 147 representative institutions of high learning done for the U.S. Office of Education and published in 1958, in which it is shown that 40 per cent of the entering freshmen fail to graduate either at the institution of their first enrollment or at any other. Thus, while Indian students do have a high dropout rate, the problem is by no means unique with them, though it is more serious.

Studies dealing with the social and personal problems of Indian college students are not as well documented as those dealing with academic problems. Too few studies have been made, in fact, to draw any definite conclusions. Preliminary evidence, however, indicates that Indian college students suffer from the same kinds of personal and social problems as do other students. Both groups get homesick, worry about the future, and have financial problems. Indians, however, seem to have more problems than do non-Indians, and they seem to have more problems of a serious nature. The study by Artichoker and Palmer (20) is directly related to this matter, and those by McGrath (414), Quimby (508), and Salisbury (550) have a bearing upon it.

Artichoker and Palmer obtained information from 72 students, or 90 per cent of all Indians attending South Dakota's four year colleges in the spring of 1957. They administered the Mooney Problem Check List, an instrument designed to reveal the problems of college students, and a second questionnaire designed to elicit information on problems directly related to Indian identity. Comparisons were made between Indian and non-Indian students. They concluded that the problems of greatest significance to the Indian student were:

1. Poor academic training for college, especially in the areas of mathematics and science
2. Insufficient funds, especially for clothing and spending money
3. Inability to relate himself to the future, especially as this involves his educational and vocational objectives
4. Concern about moral and religious questions
5. Concern about family matters.

Interestingly enough, racial prejudice and discrimination did not present any particular difficulties, nor did dating and social life. Indian students, almost without exception, showed pride in their ancestry, and nearly two-thirds of the Indian students actually felt that it was advantageous to be an Indian.

The one general and overriding finding of the Artichoker study was not that Indians have distinctive problems, but that their problems are more troublesome to them, and more serious, than they are to non-Indians.

The studies by Quimby and McGrath, unlike that by Artichoker, did not deal specifically with the personal and social problems of Indian students. They did analyze, however, a variety of social variables in order to determine which, if any, discriminated between the successful and the unsuccessful college students. Among the variables studied were the number of close friends, the number of roommates, and the smoking, drinking, and dating habits. They found that, among the Indians studied, 11 per cent report having no close friends in college, 14 per cent report having no close Indian friends in college, and the remaining 75 per cent report that they have one or more close Indian friends in the college they are attending. How the Indians compare with the non-Indians is not determined, nor is it known whether having friends or not is actually a problem.

With regard to drinking, smoking, and dating, these studies report that Indians are much less likely than non-Indians to have dates or to date frequently. In fact, 12.7 per cent say they never have dates, and an additional 37.4 date only on special occasions. Whether or not this lack of dating is perceived by the Indians as a problem is not determined. They found also that Indians dance less frequently, and drink and smoke less frequently, than do non-Indians. What bearing these facts have upon the social adjustment of the Indian student is debatable. On the whole, the social variables selected for study by Quimby and McGrath did not discriminate between the successful and the unsuccessful students, both having approximately the same characteristics.

It is hardly possible to tell from these studies if Indian college students are personally and socially adjusted, or if they suffer more from social-personal problems than do non-Indians. This would seem to be an area in need of further research.

While our knowledge of the personal and social adjustment of Indian college students remains inconclusive, we do know that they have academic problems. They receive low grades, they drop out in large numbers, and they fail to graduate. To be sure, Ludeman (378:333f.) did find that those who did manage to remain in college beyond the first two years seem to gather "scholastic power" and to make good average records. But their numbers are far too small. Do we find in the literature any indications as to what the reasons for this academic failure might be?

A number of studies, including those of McGrath (414), Quimby (508), Zintz (708), Nix (453), Purley (505), Leighton (366), Artichoker and Palmer (20), and Salisbury (550) have sought answers to the problem. The following emerge from the literature as the reasons most commonly cited:

1. Insufficient money
2. Conflict of values
3. Poor academic preparation
4. Language, especially lack of facility in English and in related verbal skills
5. The college environment
6. Family and community background.

Findings regarding the relationship between financial resources and academic success are, at best, contradictory. Some studies show that the financial status of the Indian student is not related to his academic achievement. Nix (453:77) cites an unpublished study by George A. Gill of Indian dropouts at Arizona State University, in which it was shown that, as a result of the scholarship assistance rendered by the various tribes, lack of finances did not appear to be a cause of college withdrawal.

Quimby, in a somewhat later study, made an analysis to determine whether cultural, social, economic, or academic problems were most likely to differentiate between successful and unsuccessful Indian students. He found that economic variables, such as the number of scholarships and their financial value, did not differentiate. In fact, he found, contrary to what might be expected, that unsuccessful students received more money from scholarships than did the successful ones. The studies by Nix and McGrath of the numerous scholarships and financial aid programs available to Indian students give the impression that assistance is readily obtainable by any Indian student who needs and desires it.

The study by Artichoker, and some findings in the McGrath study, on the other hand, indicate that financial difficulties may account in part for the failure of Indian college students. Artichoker and Palmer found, in comparing Indians with non-Indians, that Indians have more problems with finances and employment. For neither group, however, was this the major problem. They conclude that "there seems to be a general satisfaction among the Indian students as to the sufficiency of funds for tuition, texts, room and board, and other academic expenses. The main problem is in connection with clothing and incidental 'spending money'." Here the Indian college student has more of a problem than the non-Indian. This, Artichoker and Palmer contend, may be one of the decisive factors in the Indian's academic failure.

The McGrath study yields contradictory findings regarding the relationship of finances to academic achievement. On the one hand, reasons for withdrawal as reported by students, instructors, and the college records indicate that, while some withdraw for financial reasons, this was not the major concern. On the other hand, interviews with 60 tribal leaders indicated that financial difficulties are related to academic difficulties.

Apparently, then, the degree of relationship between financial resources and academic achievement depends, in part, upon whose opinion is asked. Reading the literature leads one to suspect that financial difficulties play a subsidiary role, but not a dominant one, in the academic failures of Indian college students. Incidentally, many general studies of the college dropout reveal that academic difficulties are most important for first-year students, while financial difficulties are more serious for those who withdraw after the first year. No studies of Indian students attempt to relate year in college with reasons for withdrawal. Perhaps such studies might clear up the contradictions in the literature regarding the relationship between finances and academic performance.

While the relationship between finances and academic success is debatable, there is clear evidence that values and value conflict are related to achievement. Prior to World War II Indians generally placed a low value upon college education. Since that time, however, they have increasingly come to realize that higher education is necessary if they are to obtain the things they have come to desire. Other values and patterns of behavior, however, obstruct the road to a college degree. Many investigators have dealt with this problem, including Havinghurst (252), Zintz (708), Leighton (366), McGrath (414), and Quimby (508), to name only a few.

Havinghurst, for instance, maintains that Pueblo groups have succeeded in preserving much of their traditional culture, and this culture mitigates against school achievement. More specifically, he holds that cooperation is accorded high value with Pueblo groups, while competition is stressed in the American educational system. Competition is built into all levels of our educational institution, and it is intensified at the college level. The resulting conflict in values may help account for the Indian's failure.

Other values, too, conflict with those found in American colleges. Leighton interviewed 40 Navahos who either graduated or withdrew from universities between 1949 and 1961. She found a definite correlation between the Navaho moral code and traditional practices and the individual's academic performance. Resistance to coercion, belief in the immutability of human nature, a present time orientation, and emphasis on familial ties were four cultural factors found to be associated with academic success and failure. Leighton maintains that Navahos value independence, and resist coercion by external rules and administrative orders. Needless to say, such attitudes hamper adjustment to the college environment. Leighton found, too, that Navaho students are not disposed to blame themselves, or to feel guilty, for their mistakes. They feel that human nature is an immutable mixture of good and evil, and that mistakes are unavoidable. Interviews indicated that many Navaho students projected blame onto the institution, the tribe, or others for their failures, and not themselves. Nor did they conceive of the ability to change themselves.

A present time orientation, involving a lack of planning and a lack of concern for the future, was also found to be associated with academic performance. Those Indians who had succeeded in shifting from a present to a future orientation were more successful in college. Finally, Leighton found that those who valued highly a secure membership in a Navaho nuclear or extended family, and who remained close to the extended family, tended to drop out more frequently. This was especially true when family demands encouraged dropping out.

Leighton concludes that those students who come to grips with the value differences, and who are characterized by a "stabilized pluralism," are most successful in college. Apparently, those who can take the "best of both worlds" and combine them are most likely to be successful in the American college environment.

Zintz, relying upon several studies, draws similar conclusions. He writes (708:116):

> Practically all adolescent and young adult Indians in New Mexico are seriously handicapped in academic pursuits today because of the culture barrier which they must face in transition from their reservation life to campus life in the dominant culture. The value system which gives direction to living and determines life goals for Indians has not established the kinds of motivations, aspirations, and thought patterns necessary for success in college.

Zintz enumerates a variety of value differences which hamper the success of Indian students,including their present orientation, their "work a little - rest a little" level of aspiration, their unhurried inexactness regarding appointments, and their non-scientific explanation of behavior (cf., 706:57f.).

Ludeman (378:335), who studied Indians of South Dakota, also notes the lakadaisical behavior patterns of Indian college students. They enroll late, miss their classes, and in numerous other ways affect habits which are at odds with those expected in the American college community.

While not dealing with values per se, the studies by McGrath and Quimby also conclude that cultural differences, of which values are a part, are crucial in explaining the academic performance of Indian students. These authors used a combination of 12 variables related to the cultural background of Indian students in an attempt to discriminate between those who succeed and those who fail. They found that these variables, including parental attitudes toward education, marital status of the student, language spoken in the home, etc., were highly successful in differentiating the "good" and the "poor" Indian college students. These studies lend support, therefore, to the idea that cultural and value differences are related to success and failure in college.

Poor academic preparation, too, is often cited as a major cause of academic failure. Artichoker and Palmer found, for example, that adjustment to college work was a serious problem for Indian college students. The bilingual student especially felt ill prepared for the demands of college. Salisbury reports similarly for those at the University of Alaska.

All respondents in the McGrath study--tribal leaders, college students, and their instructors--identified inadequate preparation as an important factor in the Indian's dropping out of college. Adams (7) administered a questionnaire to the graduates of a public high school in Utah in order to determine how they felt about the adequacy of their high school experience. The majority of these Indian graduates, it was found, reported that their high school training was not adequate. It was not as beneficial to them as they thought it should have been, in their attempts at higher education, vocational endeavors, or in solving their personal problems.

Related to the problem of inadequate preparation for college is that of the language handicap, which is often cited as an explanation of the failure of the Indian college student. There is a great deal of evidence, of varying quality, to support this hypothesis. The entire thrust of Zintz' study (706) of Indian education in New Mexico relates to problems of educational retardation and to the notion that this retardation is rooted, to a considerable extent, in the learning of English as a second language. Salisbury (549, 550) finds a similar situation in Alaska. Charles (110), after testing six college students, concluded that comprehension of English and extent of functional vocabulary were basic problems; and tutoring in these areas improved these students' skills and, subsequently, their grades.

Artichoker and Palmer (20), using the Mooney Problem Check List and a second questionnaire, compared a group of bilingual Indian students with an "English only" group. They found that the bilingual students not only had more problems but also had a disproportionately large number of serious problems. This was especially true in the area of academic adjustment. The bilingual student lacked self-confidence, felt ill-prepared to deal with the college environment, and, on the whole, had a more difficult time with learning and retaining class material, as well as with speaking up in class, and participating in the academic life.

Purley (505) classified the population of Indian students at Brigham Young University into bilingual and "English-only" groups, and compared the two groups on various measures of academic aptitude, such as SCAT and ACE tests, and on cumulative grade point averages. The monolingual students performed better on all measures used.

McGrath (414) arrived at similar conclusions, after having studied over 600 Indian college students in the Southwest. He found that facility with English, as measured by standard tests and instructors' evaluations, was definitely correlated with success in college. Some of McGrath's findings, however, are perplexing. He found, for example, that there seems to be no difference in grade point expectancy between those who do and those who do not understand a tribal language, and only a slight tendency for those who speak a tribal language to do less well than those who do not. Similarly, there seems to be a definite, but only slight, tendency for those who did not learn English as a second language to do better than those who did. And, most surprisingly, he found a definite tendency for those students who come from homes where English is never spoken to do better in college than students in other categories.

Quimby (508) also presents some puzzling conclusions. He found that a series of cultural factors, most of which dealt with acculturation and language facility, do indeed discriminate between successful and non-successful Indian college students. On certain specific factors, however, such as language spoken by the mother, his findings are not what one would predict. Quimby found that language spoken by the student's mother had no bearing upon his success or failure in college. Also, he found that the successful students lived a greater part of their life on the reservation than did the non-successful.

Obviously,more work needs to be done to determine the exact relationship between language facility and academic success.

Most of the variables considered thus far have dealt with the students' personal and cultural background. In the literature, however, there is another category of factors which are thought to be related to academic success and failure. One set of these factors might be thought of as the college environment. This would include such items as library facilities, availability of counseling and tutoring services, type and length of orientation programs, friends and roommates, residential facilities, and extra-curricular activities. While these would seem to be important, relatively few studies have dealt systematically with them. Furthermore, those who have tried to relate these factors to academic success and failure seem to come up with contradictory conclusions. Thus, we find Leighton (366), on the basis of data received through interviews and questionnaires from Navaho college students, maintaining that there is a need for more counselors and guidance services for Indian students. Respondents in her study indicated that help from counselors in clarifying the values and institutional requirements of the dominant society would have been helpful, and perhaps decisive, in preventing college dropouts. How to get failing students out of their shell and to a counselor remains a problem, however.

McGrath (414), on the other hand, found no correlation between number of conferences with advisors and the grades of the Indian students. There was, however, a slight tendency for those who see their academic advisor on a weekly basis to have a better chance of succeeding than those who do not visit their advisors so often (p.228). McGrath found, furthermore, no relationship between grades and the existence of an orientation program for Indian students. Salisbury (550), however, is more sanguine regarding the orientation program at the University of Alaska.

Quimby (508), using essentially the same sample as McGrath, found that successful Indian students attended fewer college orientation programs than did the non-successful. They also attended programs which were shorter in duration. Apparently, orientation programs, as they are now conducted, are not of any great help to the Indian student.

Quimby found, in addition, that a constellation of academic variables, including the number of reasons for going to college, frequency of contact with the advisor to Indian students, and the number of hours spent per week in study did discriminate, with a great deal of accuracy, between successful and unsuccessful students. The variable which produced the greatest difference was the amount of time spent by the student in the library. It is no surprise to learn that the successful college student spends significantly more time in the library, and in studying, than does the unsuccessful student.

Quimby, McGrath, and Leighton also provide some data on the problems of roommates, friends, and extracurricular activities. Quimby, using a combination of such variables, found that such a combination, on the whole, did not discriminate between good and poor students. Some specific factors, however, did discriminate. Non-successful students, for example, had more close friends who were Indians than did the successful students. Here, and elsewhere in the literature, it is apparent that the Indian who is more assimilated and better integrated into the dominant society and culture functions more successfully in that society.

McGrath also studied the relationship between certain variables and academic success. He found that difficulty in participating in social affairs, difficulty in making non-Indian friends, and difficulty even in making Indian friends were all related to academic achievement. Those who have such difficulties also tend to receive lower grades and eventually to drop out of college. McGrath also found that Indians in college were more likely to be in clubs and extra-curricular activities than non-Indians. And, also, there is a tendency, albeit a slight one, for Indian students who are involved in extra-curricular activities to be more successful than those who are not. Leighton's study (366) reaches similar conclusions regarding the positive relationship between involvement in the life of the college and academic success.

Finally, those who have studied the Indian college student have sought to establish a relationship between academic success and the student's family and community background. The factors involved here include expectations and educational background of parents, the number of siblings remaining at home, and the extent to which the tribe encourages higher education. There is a dearth of data on these matters, although a few studies have dealt with them. Leighton (366), for instance, found that family influence was related both to college entrance and to remaining there until graduation. It appears that educated parents urge their children to attend college more frequently than do less educated parents. While the educational background of parents clearly influences the young person to attend college, the relationship of the parents' educational background to the student's remaining in college is not so clear. Leighton is somewhat contradictory on this point. On the one hand, she notes that students from uneducated families do as well as those from educated families, once they do enter (p.296). On the other hand, she finds that having at least one parent with a minimum level of an eighth grade education is positively related to successful completion of a college course (p.314). The conclusions she draws from her data call for clarification.

Elsewhere in her study, however, she demonstrates the impact of family organization on academic success. "There were more students who graduated from secure, consanguineal families with an understanding of a need for education, than from similarly secure families without the understanding of this need for education and its problems" (p.289). Furthermore, she found that the values of a secure membership in a Navaho nuclear family appear to make dropping out more probable when family demands are made on the student (p.331). No doubt the family has a profound influence upon one's college career.

Hamblin (235), using data from a questionnaire administered to Apache and Navaho high school seniors, also demonstrated the importance of the family in creating a desire to undertake higher education. In this case the students reported that they received the most encouragement from their parents, with only limited encouragement from teachers and friends. Whether or not this encouragement actually resulted in college entrance is not explored in this study.

McGrath and Quimby also report that the parents' attitudes are definitely related to a student's success in college. Quimby says, in fact, that the attitude of parents is one of the most decisive factors in discriminating between successful and unsuccessful college students (p.83). McGrath, too, indicates a definite relationship between grades and the attitudes of parents. His findings, however, are not exactly what one might anticipate. Says he, "Only 36 per cent of those students whose parents actively encourage them in their college education achieve a grade point average of 2.00 or higher, while 51 per cent of those students whose parents are reported to be pleased but not actively encouraging their children in college earn a 2.00 or better grade average." McGrath interprets this to mean that "many Indian students are in college because their parents wish them to continue their education rather than because of any real desire on their own part. Those whose parents are pleased but not actively encouraging them may be the ones who are really interested in bettering themselves through education" (p.252).

The fact remains that parents' attitudes affect college performance. Of all the cases reviewed by McGrath, there was not one instance of a successful student coming from a home where parents actively discouraged college attendance, and there was only one case on record of a successful student coming from a home where parents were displeased but did not actively discourage attendance.

Tribal, as well as parental, encouragement may also be related to success in college. This relationship has been explored by both Nix and McGrath. Both studies, as indicated earlier in this chapter, extensively review the numerous programs, financial and otherwise, which tribes have established to encourage higher education. The McGrath study examines the programs set up by 37 tribes in the Southwest, whereby scholarships, loans, summer employment, etc. are made available to college students. Nix studied the activities of 13 Arizona Indian groups, and found that many of them provide scholarships, make educational loans, provide employment during vacations, furnish books and clothing, offer guidance and counseling, and in various other ways try to encourage their youths to attend college.

What relationship this encouragement bears to college success, however, remains an open question. While Nix found that increase of tribal scholarships has led to an increase in college attendance, he could not draw definite conclusions regarding the effect of these programs on academic achievement. For one thing, many of the programs are too recent to permit such an analysis; and, furthermore, many factors other than tribal encouragement are related to academic success, and it has been impossible to control these other factors so as to isolate the effects of tribal encouragement. McGrath, too, failed to draw definite conclusions regarding the impact of these programs. Interviews with tribal leaders, however, indicated that they were convinced that such encouragement was important. Thirty-eight per cent of all tribal leaders interviewed, in fact, identified lack of encouragement from family and tribe as a major cause of dropping out. And a full 55 per cent of these leaders believe that the way to help Indian students succeed in college is to "keep in touch with them and let them know that the tribe cares."

In summary, it can be said that Indian college students, on the whole, do not do well in college. There are many reasons for this failure. Some of these, such as limited or faulty educational background have been rather thoroughly explored. Others, such as cultural, situational, and personality factors call for further study.

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